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# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

April  
1945

1944 Annual Meeting Papers

Official Journal of the  
American Sociological Society

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This issue of the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW is devoted entirely to papers prepared for the Thirty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society which was scheduled to be held in Chicago, Illinois, December 28-29, 1944, but was cancelled at the request of the Office of Defense Transportation.

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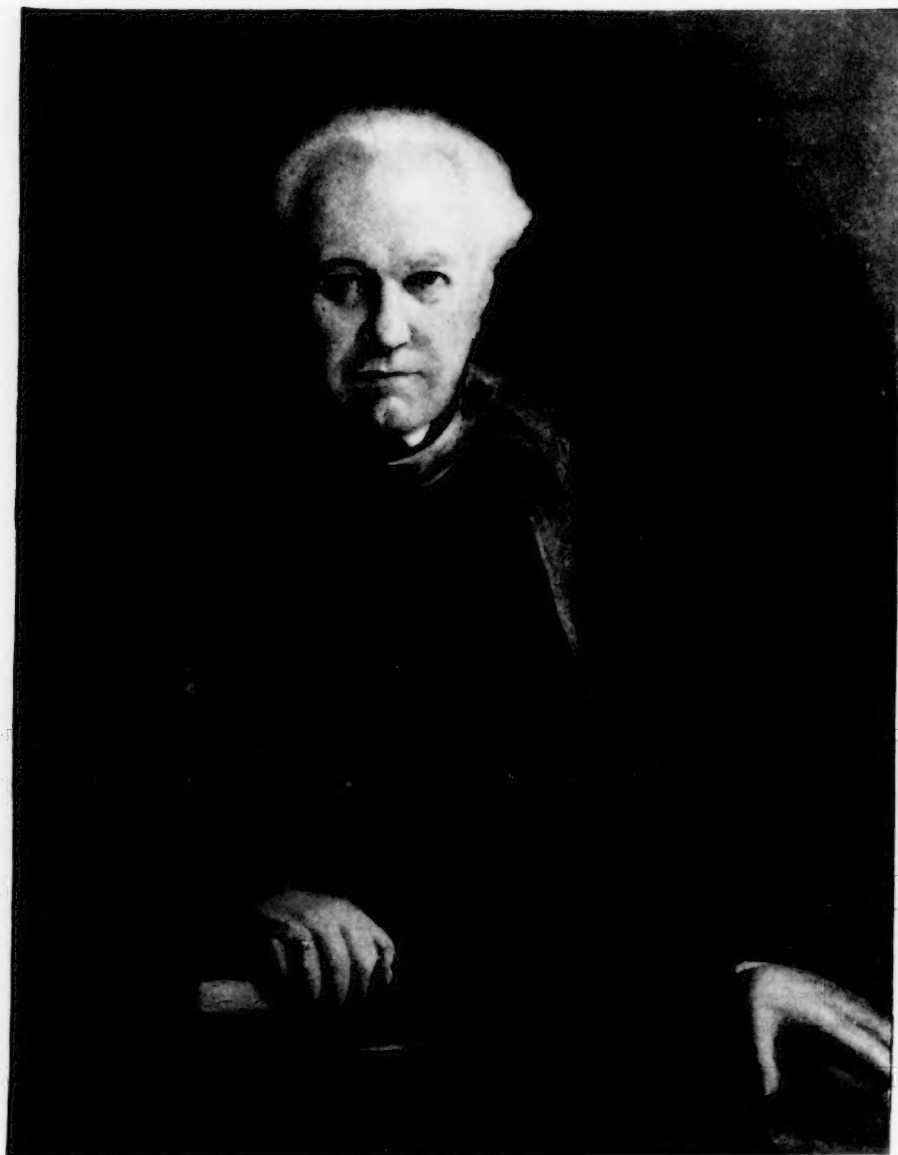
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# American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

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## TOWARD SOCIAL DYNAMICS

RUPERT B. VANCE  
*University of North Carolina*

IN THE final analysis I suppose we would agree that the energies of men, from whatever source they flow, furnish the dynamics of society. If society continues in a state of incessant change it is because the energies of human beings are never at rest. As individuals and in groups, humankind are continually seeking, striving, and struggling. If one defines social dynamics as the forces moving society, one begins with the energies of men; if one defines dynamics as the changes in society, one studies the results these energies have wrought.

It is in the social process that individual energies are merged and channeled.<sup>1</sup> Individual energies are merged in the economic process to create an economic order, maintain a changing economic equilibrium and distribute the goods and services by which men nourish their material existence. In the breakdown of order, new issues emerge and the energies of men are channeled in pro-

cesses of struggle and conflict to arrive at new decisions and new forms of order. Here dynamics range from the use of force to the processes of valuation and revaluation involved in arriving at the rationalizations of a new moral consensus. "Men will rise," wrote Sir John Fortescue in his *Governance of England*, "for lack of goods or for lack of justice. But certainly when they lack goods, they will rise, saying they lack justice."

Certainly the political process in the true Aristotelian sense is the policy making process. In its ultimate range it embraces the open use of force and never are the energies of men more powerfully or more terribly employed than in the co-operation of group conflict. It is a truism that conflict is the ultimate means of registering and consummating social change, but there is no valid estimate of how much of social dynamics is lost in deadlock and how much of the splendid energies of men are wasted in the process.

It is possible that international war may some day be superseded, but conflict itself as a dynamic reoccurring expression of the energies of men in their struggle for decision and order will remain. William E. Gladstone once said: "If no consideration in a political crisis had been addressed to the people of this country except to remember to hate

<sup>1</sup> Individual energies are stimulated and channeled in a hundred different processes to result in a hundred different products. "Society," as Charles H. Cooley has told us in his classic definition, "is a complex of forms or processes each of which is living and growing by interaction with the others, the whole being so unified that what takes place in one part affects all the rest. It is a vast tissue of reciprocal activity, differentiated into innumerable system. . . ." Charles H. Cooley, *The Social Process*. New York: 1918, p. 28.

violence and love order and exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been obtained." "Conflict is inevitable," wrote Charles H. Cooley after the first World War, "but we need not assume that we fight in a vacuum nor in any endless cycle of frustration."

#### DYNAMICS AS THEORY AND AS METHOD

It is now over a hundred years since that strange and prophetic figure, Auguste Comte, strove to reconcile the concepts of order and progress and thus made dynamics a master idea in the theory of human society. Behind him lay the French Revolution, the greatest sequence of social changes the world was to witness until the Russian Revolution, approximately a century and a quarter later. While Comte was publishing his *Cours de Philosophie* Karl Marx was a student engaged in assimilating the Hegelian dialectic into a philosophy of revolution.

In the new science, statics was to deal with the structural and organizational aspects of society as seen in cross section; dynamics was to deal with succession, sequence and change, in short with the progress of society. Statics showed social harmony in consensus, concurrence and interconnection under the laws of coexistence. The organizational aspects of society were common to all times and places, but nowhere did they become fixed and immutable. "Just as humanity lives on while individuals perish," Cooley was later to write, "so the social organization endures while the particular forms of it pass away."<sup>2</sup> Statics and dynamics were thus interdependent categories, each serving to define and delimit the other. Progress, according to Comte, was the development of social order. While the emergence of social order was to be explained by a process of development, the laws of progress would serve to determine the points of reference in all stages of social organization.

In 1850 Herbert Spencer, then a stripling of 30, published his first book, a work

<sup>2</sup> C. H. Cooley, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

called *Social Statics*. He had seen the term in John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy*. Later he was to learn that it came from Comte. In a succeeding part of his *Political Economy*, Mills had introduced economic dynamics saying: "We still have to consider the economic conditions of mankind as . . . undergoing progressive changes." Spencer, like Comte, hoped to establish dynamics as a dominant idea. He defined statics in the mechanistic terms of an equilibrium of forces and dynamics in terms of disequilibrium. The end of dynamics was the perfect static state for Spencer conceived of dynamics as the means of advance toward finality, that Utopia of perfect adjustment between individuals and society, society and nature, and society and other societies visualized in his *Social Statics*. In his *First Principles*, however, he concluded that social equilibrium is unattainable in the static form, and only a moving equilibrium is possible.

Under the broad canopy of cosmic processes, Spencer held in Frank Hankin's felicitous phrase that "everything would eventually reach utopian perfection provided we all sat perfectly still and let evolution take its course. . . . Social science was not a guide to action, but a warning to man not to interfere with nature, and a proof that conscious control of social development is impossible." We have long realized that Spencer disregarded at his peril the larger implications in his idea of society's resemblance to an interdependent organism and his view of culture as a super-organic product.

The first cycle of the Founding Fathers was to be completed in 1883 when a 42-year-old American, Lester F. Ward, a paleobotanist of some reputation, published a two-volume work, *Dynamic Sociology*. For Ward, true social science must have its static and dynamic aspects and these categories must refer to both structure and function. Biology, he felt, became a dynamic science only with the advent of Darwin, and sociology would become a dynamic science only if its disciplines grasped the process of unceasing



change. In our own discipline, sociologists realize that Ward with his dictum that "the desires of men are the forces that move society," his doctrine of social telesis, and his belief in the superiority of the artificial over the natural, anticipated the trends that culminated in pragmatism and the philosophy of social action.

For Ward, statics had as its proper field, "the condition or status of society at the present time or at any past time." He recognized two kinds of dynamics: passive dynamics dealing with the spontaneous changes which society had undergone and active dynamics dealing with purposive change and collective action toward socially determined goals. The first was the subject matter of Pure Sociology, the second of Applied Sociology. The heritage of social Darwinism was to be sloughed off by showing that civilization was an achievement, not an organic growth, that while environment transformed the animal in geologic time, man transformed the environment by prevision and innovation. The dynamics of induced social change were to come from programs of universal education—the extension of all valid knowledge to all the people. Thence, the process would lead from dynamic public opinion to the dynamic social action that leads to progress. In Ward's dynamics the energies of men were to be directed by the intelligence of men. While this characteristically optimistic and American formulation developed no methods for the study of social change, it pointed to the phenomena sociologists must grasp if they meant to analyze the dynamic flow of society.

Social dynamics is both a method of analysis and a body of social theory forever in the making and remaking. To most of our members, I am sure, the bare recital of these trends in the history of our discipline reaffirms the serious challenge to understanding and to mastery implicit in sociology. It was 53 years from Comte to Ward and it has now been 62 years from the time Ward wrote his first great work to our day—a period that has witnessed two world wars, the Russian Revolution, and the

Fascist Counter-Revolution. It is but obvious to admit that the more intense the dynamics of our society, the more difficult we find it to develop sound social theory. Sociologists, however, are not content to emulate Abbe Seyés, who when asked what he did during the French Revolution, replied, "I survived!" Sociology will survive as a useful discipline in a dynamic world only if it comes to grips with the essential processes of change, disorganization and reorganization involved in the category of dynamics itself.

#### CATEGORY AND CONCEPTS

Despite its honorable history, dynamics as a basic category in sociology resembles a whole that by some miracle has survived the progressive destruction of the parts that composed it. Science and criticism have not been kind to the basic doctrines that were comprised in social dynamics. Here as elsewhere theory outran its verification. The philosophy of history, theories of social progress, doctrines of social equilibrium, cultural cycles, stages of social evolution, cycles of change, and catastrophic theories of revolution have all suffered diminution in scope and value. To many the philosophy of history is no longer good history nor good philosophy. Social evolution, once a keystone of dynamics, was written off in 1937 by Alexander Goldenwiser in an article for the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* that concluded: "If there is social evolution, whatever it may be, it is no longer accepted as a process to be contemplated but as a task to be achieved by deliberate and concerted human effort." How many sociologists, I wonder, now feel that there is social evolution apart from the concerted efforts of men.

Those who see social dynamics as a "task to be achieved by deliberate and concerted human effort" are likely to be met with a reminder of the bankruptcy of the concept of social progress. "The progress of humanity," writes the historian of that doctrine, "belongs to the same order of ideas as Providence or personal immortality. It is true or it is false and like them it cannot be proved

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true or false. Belief in it is an act of faith."<sup>3</sup> Actually the doctrine of social progress met its demise because it could not accommodate a static system of norms and values to the idea of a dynamic social order. "Rationally considered," writes Carl Becker, "the idea of progress was always at war with its premises. It rests upon the notion of a universe in perpetual flux; yet it carried the implication of finality, for progress seems to be meaningless unless there is movement toward some ultimate objective. But we can picture history as a process making toward an ultimate goal, only if the world is to come to an end when that goal is attained."<sup>4</sup>

Economic theory, however, has retained the category of economic dynamics and has subjected dynamic processes to quantitative analysis. Accordingly it may be of some value to examine the status of dynamics in a kindred discipline.<sup>5</sup>

It was the insight offered by Comte that gave economics an initial impulse to break away from the static assumptions embedded in Adam Smith and Ricardo. In cultural diffusion one good turn deserves another, and many able young sociologists have profited from coming in contact with the materials, the methods and concepts developed in strong seminars now given on economic dynamics. In available statistical data, in the employment of time series and in their attempt at conceptional integration, economists have been able to formulate and test three dynamic ideas; namely, those of economic progress, economic cycles and economic equilibrium.

In economics until recently the doctrine of progress has escaped the doubts of those who accept no norms and know no values. Economic progress was demonstrated in statistical indices as a relatively slow secu-

lar trend leading to the maximization of production and increased material well-being. In neo-classical theory which has shaped economic thought in recent generations there were no misgivings as to the future of economic progress. Western man lived in an expanding economy and as Alexander Gourvitch well put it: "Economic growth here appears as self-feeding and self-perpetuating, without assignable limits, through continuous technological progress, growth of capital, expanding markets, and multiplying opportunities for investment."<sup>6</sup>

Some theoretical support was given the doctrine of economic progress by the concept of economic equilibrium, in spite of the fact that equilibrium analysis is essentially static analysis. The concept of a moving equilibrium as developed in economic theory is by no means simple or coherent. If dynamic changes appear in succession, the economy as a whole can never actually be in a position of equilibrium. Yet according to the theory the economy will always be tending or grativating toward such a position. This idea has very concrete implications for it suggests a natural harmony in economic relationships that is self-adjusting.<sup>7</sup> Any dynamic change generates of itself the action of forces tending to counteract its disturbing effects and is thus self-correcting. Add to this the fact that John Bates Clark in the most rigorous use of this method yet developed assumed that equilibrium conditions offered the fullest possible employment of all economic factors including labor. The ultimate challenge to this doctrine of natural harmonies is found in John Maynard Keynes' conclusion that equilibrium positions without full employment exist and can logically be called equilibrium in the sense that they do not of themselves give rise to movements which would tend to bring about conditions of full employment.

Economic dynamics is increasingly becoming concerned with analyses of the cyclical processes of depression and prosperity. The inability to accommodate previous

<sup>3</sup> J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress*. London: 1921, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Carl Becker, "Social Progress," *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*.

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted in this section to the work of John Maurice Clark and Alexander Gourvitch's *Survey of Economic Theory on Technological Change and Employment*. W.P.A. National Research Project. Philadelphia: 1940.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Gourvitch, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

<sup>7</sup> Gourvitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-86, 109-11.



theory to the drastic phenomena treated in cyclical theory is leading to a revaluation in economics—one that is as yet incomplete and unformulated. Accordingly in the doctrine of a moving economic equilibrium, in the theory of economic cycles and in the analysis of the secular trend, economists have developed three methods of approach to economic dynamics that are by no means integrated among themselves.

So far, little success has attended attempts to bridge the gaps between general equilibrium theory, business-cycle theory and theories of economic progress. "The concept of cyclical movements as fluctuations around successive equilibrium positions," writes Alexander Gourvitch, "is theoretically vague."<sup>8</sup> The idea of economic equilibrium also meets sharp challenge in the work of Wesley Clair Mitchell who says he has discovered no evidence of its existence in his studies of business cycles. That is, he finds no evidence of forces which act toward some equilibrium position and stop when that is reached. "In fact, if not in theory," he concludes "a state of change in business conditions is the only *normal* state."<sup>9</sup>

Even more vague has been the more widespread, ill-defined, and less theoretical notion which tends to assign to each stage of the business cycle a distinct function in the onward march of economic development. Any view of the cyclical movement as performing the function of adjustment over time implies that the elasticity of responses to changing conditions, while counteracted at first by a variety of frictions, nevertheless does assert itself after some delay through the succession of several stages of the business cycle. Such theory of the ultimate beneficence of economic cycles finds little support. Especially does it seem contradicted by the fact that in successive cycles the amplitude of the depression phase becomes wider so as to suggest in the expressive words of Dennish H. Robertson that, "the tail of one depression, so to speak,

does not so easily get bitten off by the head of the next boom."<sup>10</sup> No longer is it assumed that the process of liquidation assures the survival of those enterprises best fitted to survive in terms of general economic welfare.

In short, one may conclude that the effect of the analysis of economic cycles has been to break down the belief in an automatically readjusting equilibrium and to cast doubts on the validity of theories of an economic progress that is self-generating. A dynamic economic order is undercutting the theoretical formulation of economic dynamics. Thus cycle theory has led to the next phase of dynamics, the consideration of rational measures of political and economic control. Sociology can afford to be sympathetic here, for its theoretical formulations are suffering from a similar malady.

In economics this has led to the next phase of dynamics. In addition to quantitative departures from static norms, economic theory as John Maurice Clark points out also faces the problem of qualitative changes in the basic institutions of society, in systems of law, of personal liberty and contract, in short of changes in those social norms which offer points of reference from which other changes are measured. Economics has prepared itself for this task as best it might by adding to its armentarium, basic work in the analysis of comparative economic systems in their structure and functioning. This is a beginning comparable to the analysis of various culture types or stages once popular among anthropologists. The theoretical difficulty here is very real, and it must be preceded by descriptive studies of the function of various economic institutions such as markets, central banking, economic control, etc., under various economic systems.

It is with such an overall view of changes in society, its institutions and values that social dynamics should be concerned and it is our assumption that the early strategists of social theory were so concerned when

<sup>8</sup> Gourvitch, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-88.

<sup>9</sup> W. C. Mitchell, *Business Cycles*. New York: 1913, p. 86.

<sup>10</sup> Dennish H. Robertson, *Economic Essays and Addresses*. London: 1931, pp. 124-25.

they divided sociology into statics and dynamics. Any economics or any sociology which cites the basic institutions, the basic social relations or human nature itself as fixed is still working within the limitations of static concepts and assumptions. Such work is needed and desirable, but it should be labeled static analysis and not accepted as adequate theory for the most dynamic of social epochs.

#### SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE SOCIAL EQUILIBRIUM

The concept of social process represents an important reaction against static theory, shedding additional light on social equilibrium and social movements. It reached an early summation in Charles H. Cooley's *Social Process*. In social interaction, society was viewed as a flow of relations, a changing equilibrium in which individuals and groups act and react upon one another to create new structures and new relations. It is notable that following Small, Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, who in 1921 formulated a battery of social processes as the main instrument of analysis in *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, also gave us the first systematic analysis of social movements—still a necessary introduction to social dynamics, however conceived.

While psychology has not yet made clear the complex relation between individual drives and motivation on the one hand and the system of social norms and values on the other, we must accept both as categories of reality. Any analysis that sees social movements as collective dynamics must integrate these psychological and social categories in a moving equilibrium. This may be suggested by an example applicable to any people. Thus the English, so their critics have sometimes said, are bound to strike continental observers as hypocritical in behavior, not because their morals are low, but because their ideals are high. This is a point of view pregnant with meaning for the dynamic analysis of any society. It is a commonplace developed by sociologists in the study of human relationships that in human society we have both a natural order of

things and an ideal scheme of values. It is no denial of this view to add that in spite of science the natural order is not completely understood; and in spite of ethical tensions, the ideal system is never completely realized.

Every social system maintains equilibrium because it is a system of controls. "From the viewpoint of control," writes A. B. Hollingshead, "society is a vast, multiform, organized system of appeals, sanctions, prescriptions, usages, and structures focused upon directing the behavior of its members into culturally defined norms."<sup>11</sup> At first glimpse this view tends to a static conception of all institutions as committed to the maintenance of a given social order and organization. There are, however, two things necessary to complete the picture: first, the striving individuals seeking goals and satisfactions within the system and second the rationalizations that develop out of the norms and values of control. Thus the concept of justice itself may have had its origin in rules and regulations to repress non-conformists; but when rationalized into a system it may hold up norms that make for increased claims of individuals and groups against repression.

Within each social system, as Harold Lasswell has pointed out, individuals are "always widening or narrowing the sum of their claims on society for life, liberty of action, property or deference. For the most part, the position of the individual in relation to society is controlled by influences of which he is unaware but in some measure each believes his personality should be protected from the encroachment of others and can be aggrandized at the expense of others."<sup>12</sup>

Social interaction does not, however, proceed along this path of rugged individualism. Normally, men do not advance their claims individually and singly. Whenever feasible, they unite for the defense, maintenance or advancement of any position or advantage

<sup>11</sup> A. B. Hollingshead, "The Concept of Social Control," *American Sociological Review*, April 1941, p. 220.

<sup>12</sup> Harold Lasswell, "Social Conflict," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

which they possess in common; they form an interest group and the term interest is applied to the cause which unites them. Privileged groups may fight to retain what they have but we are also interested in the dynamic phenomena offered by groups struggling for goals as yet unattained. For our purposes, then, the study of social movements offers a most enlightening vista to social dynamics.

Social movements thus considered have their explanation in terms of the reciprocal relations of individuals striving for goals and the systematized scheme of norms and values developed within a given society. As seen from the viewpoint of control, the systematized norms make for social order; seen as unattained ideals, they make for social dynamics, whether the process be called progress or disorganization.

Social movements begin in those groups where the shoe pinches. They are initiated by minorities who feel that their rights have been disregarded or that their claims to power have been denied. The strength of such movements is often to be explained in terms of excessive emotional conditioning. By an indifferent majority, suffragettes, abolitionists, and youth leaders were called fanatics. Actually, their appeals were often made to previously accepted codes, even while the conservatives retorted that nothing had been changed and nobody had been hurt. Social movements then are initiated by minorities whose emotional intensity is often in inverse ratio to their numbers. What they lack in mass they may be said to make up in velocity. Thus minorities attain high momentum in their impact on majorities which by their very indifference lack momentum. Each social movement is preceded by social unrest—a phenomenon that creates tension among the majority. Certain techniques such as the hunger strike have been shown to have a high degree of value in creating this tension. Because they have suffered, agitators, visionaries and idealists go beyond simple claims for justice and equal treatment and see in the triumph of the movement they represent, the promise of a new Utopia. Woman suffrage was to purify

politics; the labor movement was to bring economic democracy; and legal prohibition was to institute the universal reign of temperance.

Many social movements have won their way in our society, but not all of them have greatly changed the social equilibrium. Abolitionism won and became Reconstruction. Woman suffrage doubled the electorate and gave each political party state committee women where only committee men had grown before. Temperance became prohibition and prohibition became "law enforcement," until lawlessness forced its repeal. Christianity captured the Roman Empire but it was no longer Apostolic Christianity. By losing its "fanatics" it became respectable and it ended by becoming a new imperial Church, giving rise to the suspicion that the Empire in effect had captured the Christian church. If Christianity had come to power in a democratic world, it would, no doubt, have given us a different equilibrium. Even so, there is the chance that in such a world, the Christian movement would have lacked the dynamic motivation to rise to power.

Why do social movements thus appear to stop short on the brink and fail to carry through to final achievement? The apparent failure of feminism to achieve all that its leaders promised and hoped was due, no doubt, to the fact that women are human beings first and women afterwards. Given a minimum of economic and legal rights, women were reabsorbed in the social fabric and feminism lost its dynamics. Logically speaking, this is the answer to those who fear the Negro movement. Relieved of the proscriptions under which they suffer, Negroes will appear as human beings first and Negroes afterwards. The cause of Negro rights would then be merged with the cause of human rights everywhere.

Generally, it can be said of all social movements except possibly revolutions that while they tilt the social balance upward they are reintegrated in the social equilibrium. Thus to the zealous leaders it must seem that as social movements win, they begin to lose. To win, an intense minority must attract to its cause a majority of the



public, most of whose members are apathetic—if not hostile. As the movement impinges upon the solid mass of the electorate, it tends to lose in velocity what it gains in mass. To jump on a bandwagon is to slow it down.

Not only are the new adherents indifferent as compared to the leaders, but the leadership itself changes. Idealists, honest and visionary, agitate for unpopular causes but when it appears that these causes are likely to win, practical men of affairs take over the movement and administer on the basis of business and politics as usual. The Abolitionist Movement had its William Lloyd Garrison and appealed to a higher law than the constitution, but when it won, Reconstruction furnished carpetbaggers and scalawags, the practical men needed to distribute office, collect the spoils and hold the enfranchised freedmen in line. Business men, bureaucrats, politicians, and lukewarm office holders, as practical men of affairs administer the victorious movements. It is part of the day's work to them.

In retrospect these conclusions seem hard and cruel to those who believe in causes, but obviously they go beyond Pareto's cynical denial of social dynamics. The fluctuation of society around a moving equilibrium is dependent upon the reoccurring forces of social movements. In their intensity, the agitators of social movements overshoot the normal equilibrium of society in their promises of justice and utopia. Soundly based as their claims may be, there are more often claims for basic rights than blue prints for a new Jerusalem.

Since the masses who finally vote approval of these reforms are usually indifferent, it is not surprising that these hopes fall short of realization. In the main, the followers of these movements are satisfied when their immediate demands are met and thereby cease their agitation for long-time goals.

In terms of dynamic social action we can summarize the process at work in these movements. The dynamic is found in the motivation of similarly placed individuals to grasp by group effort at values and rights already assumed by certain classes and groups in society. While the group's attain-

ment of these values may fail to bring about the reconstruction of society visualized by its leaders, it results in the maintenance of a moving equilibrium with a rising trend line in norms and values. This is the significance of social movements in which whole groups rise to new levels as compared to those forms of social mobility in which individuals rise but leave groups as depressed in the social scale as before.

#### DYNAMICS AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

No statement of social movements, however complete, can do more than illustrate one phase of the complex range of dynamics. None of society's great changes, however widespread and beneficial have ever proved to be final. The search for a fixed human nature operating in conjunction with a fixed social order appears in modern science to have suffered the fate of all attempts to establish the absolute. Individuals in society are in continuous interaction adjusting and readjusting to new situations, generating new values and new patterns of order. The resultant in this interaction may be classes, factions, sects, gangs, minority groupings, regions, sections, or nations, but the basic process remains the integration of individuals in groups and of groups in the total society.

A persistent human problem has been that of maintaining order in the midst of dynamics. The mores and the patterns of culture furnish the static aspects of society but within the social organization we increasingly realize that continuous pressures are making for disorganization and reorganization. Over periods the process proceeds slowly and regularly, but when the tempo increases we become conscious of the conflict of changing values. In such periods doctrines of natural harmony meet sharp challenge. As belief in a self-adjusting equilibrium grows weaker reemphasis is directed to the fact that many equilibrium devices are the planned products of human intelligence. Whenever they are needed, the view is advanced that others can be developed. In a relatively few periods in history the ultimate range of social dynamics has been found in that sudden and drastic form of reorganization known as revolution. Only

when breakdown reaches the point where the prevailing organization fails to function and attempts at social reform are frustrated is it likely that masses of the population will rise, seeking by force to replace old mores and forms of legality by new values. Even here the logic implicit in dynamics is to press on to social integration around new values or else to risk a return to the old. The essence of dynamics is change, but if dynamics is defined in terms of values, the trend is not toward chaos but toward the development of new forms of order.

The static point of view is not only a logical necessity; it follows from the successive levels of integration attained in the dynamic process. Archimedes asked for a fulcrum that he might move the world. Where everything is in flux, where nothing is and everything is becoming, science also needs a fixed point from which to view social movement. While it is essentially logical to view social statics as an abstraction from dynamics, it seems clear that the development of static analysis must come first. Even so, the rationalization of any system of social order may await the end of the dynamics that produced the system.

Thus Walton Hamilton writes:

The feudal regime was an empirical sort of an affair; men of iron lorded it over underlings as they could, yielded to their betters as they were compelled and maintained such law and order as the times allowed; but with its passing, its sprawling arrangements and befuddled functions were turned into an office and estate ordained of God. In the days of the Tudors, kings were kings without any dialectical to-do about it; the overneat statement of the divine right of kings had to wait the decadent monarchy of the Stuarts. The tangled thing called capitalism was never created by design or cut to be a blue print; but now that it is here, contemporary schoolmen have intellectualized it into a purposive and self-regulating instrument of the general welfare.<sup>13</sup>

Men striving in society find the impetus to dynamics in (1) crises involving the breakdown of social order, (2) in the development of invention and technology, and

(3) in the progressive creation of new values involving the demand for new forms of order. Inventions have made war more terrible and it is held by some that advancing technology has made cyclical unemployment more certain. This is social change but an equally dynamic interpretation will seek to explain the emergence of new social structures and forms of organization. It seems safe to venture that the great dynamics of our times will prove to be mass fear of unemployment and mass fear of future wars. They too can be given psycho-social analysis in terms of forces making toward the development of new forms of social order.

Sociology has tended to avoid the analysis of values but an adequate social dynamics will grasp the nettle of progress by showing how a dynamic society generates social values as it moves. The solution of the dilemma offered by the concept of progress is, to state that any dynamic society must be measured by dynamic rather than by static values. These values cannot be posited in advance; they are generated by society as it changes in the development of new structures and new equilibria. Thus mass unemployment generates within a society a new concept of human rights—the right to employment. This right is first assumed, then demanded, and finally given legal sanction. Whether attainable or not, the search for this goal offers a major social dynamic whose wealth of data will not be adequately exploited by calculating the length of cultural lag between the appearance of unemployment and the creation of machinery to cope with it.

If any society after vigorous striving, by happy chance beyond imagination attained the values set forth in democracy or Christianity, its members would not cease from striving. By then they would have developed new values. In the mass fear of war and of unemployment, society projects ahead of itself assumed values of full employment and international organization. Regardless of whether these desired objects are to lead us to chaos or to security, they suggest the social dynamics—the changing goals and the changing motivation—generated within a changing society.

<sup>13</sup> Walton Hale Hamilton, "Social Institutions," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

## IS "WHITE COLLAR CRIME" CRIME?

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THE ARGUMENT has been made that business and professional men commit crimes which should be brought within the scope of the theories of criminal behavior.<sup>1</sup> In order to secure evidence as to the prevalence of such white collar crimes an analysis was made of the decisions by courts and commissions against the seventy largest industrial and mercantile corporations in the United States under four types of laws, namely, antitrust, false advertising, National Labor Relations, and infringement of patents, copyrights, and trademarks. This resulted in the finding that 547 such adverse decisions had been made, with an average of 7.8 decisions per corporation and with each corporation having at least 1.<sup>2</sup> Although all of these were decisions that the behavior was unlawful, only 49 or 9 per cent of the total were made by criminal courts and were *ipso facto* decisions that the behavior was criminal. Since not all unlawful behavior is criminal behavior, these decisions can be used as a measure of criminal behavior only if the other 498 decisions can be shown to be decisions that the behavior of the corporations was criminal.

This is a problem in the legal definition of crime and involves two types of questions: May the word "crime" be applied to the behavior regarding which these decisions were made? If so, why is it not generally applied and why have not the criminologists regarded white collar crime as cognate with other crime? The first question involves semantics, the second interpretation or explanation.

A combination of two abstract criteria is generally regarded by legal scholars as

necessary to define crime, namely: legal description of an act as socially injurious, and legal provision of a penalty for the act.<sup>3</sup>

When the criterion of legally defined social injury is applied to these 547 decisions the conclusion is reached that all of the classes of behaviors regarding which the decisions were made are legally defined as socially injurious. This can be readily determined by the words in the statutes—"crime" or "misdemeanor" in some, and "unfair," "discrimination," or "infringement" in all the others. The persons injured may be divided into two groups: first, a relatively small number of persons engaged in the same occupation as the offenders or in related occupations, and, second, the general public either as consumers or as constituents of the general social institutions which are affected by the violations of the laws. The antitrust laws are designed to protect competitors and also to protect the institution of free competition as the regulator of the economic system and thereby to protect consumers against arbitrary prices, and to protect the institution of democracy against the dangers of great concentration of wealth in the hands of monopolies. Laws against false advertising are designed to protect competitors against unfair competition and also to protect consumers against fraud. The National Labor Relations Law is designed to protect employees against coercion by employers and also to protect the general public against interferences with commerce due to strikes and lockouts. The laws against infringements are designed to

<sup>1</sup> Edwin H. Sutherland, "White Collar Criminality," *American Sociological Review*. 5:1-12, February, 1940; Edwin H. Sutherland, "Crime and Business," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 217:112-18, September, 1941.

<sup>2</sup> Paper on "Illegal Behavior of Seventy Corporations," to be published later.

<sup>3</sup> The most satisfactory analysis of the criteria of crime from the legal point of view may be found in the following papers by Jerome Hall: "Prolegomena to a Science of Criminal Law," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*. 89:549-80, March, 1941; "Interrelations of Criminal Law and Torts," *Columbia Law Review*. 43:735-79, 967-1001, September-November, 1943; "Criminal Attempts—A Study of the Foundations of Criminal Liability," *Yale Law Review*. 49:789-840, March, 1940.



protect the owners of patents, copyrights, and trademarks against deprivation of their property and against unfair competition, and also to protect the institution of patents and copyrights which was established in order to "promote the progress of science and the useful arts." Violations of these laws are legally defined as injuries to the parties specified.

Each of these laws has a logical basis in the common law and is an adaptation of the common law to modern social organization. False advertising is related to common law fraud, and infringement to larceny. The National Labor Relations Law, as an attempt to prevent coercion, is related to the common law prohibition of restrictions on freedom in the form of assault, false imprisonment, and extortion. For at least two centuries prior to the enactment of the modern antitrust laws the common law was moving against restraint of trade, monopoly, and unfair competition.

Each of the four laws provides a penal sanction and thus meets the second criterion in the definition of crime, and each of the adverse decisions under these four laws, except certain decisions under the infringement laws to be discussed later, is a decision that a crime was committed. This conclusion will be made more specific by analysis of the penal sanctions provided in the four laws.

The Sherman antitrust law states explicitly that a violation of the law is a misdemeanor. Three methods of enforcement of this law are provided, each of them involving procedures regarding misdemeanors. First, it may be enforced by the usual criminal prosecution, resulting in the imposition of fine or imprisonment. Second, the attorney general of the United States and the several district attorneys are given the "duty" of "repressing and preventing" violations of the law by petitions for injunctions, and violations of the injunctions are punishable as contempt of court. This method of enforcing a criminal law was an invention and, as will be described later, is the key to the interpretation of the differential implementation of the criminal law as applied to white collar

criminals. Third, parties who are injured by violations of the law are authorized to sue for damages, with a mandatory provision that the damages awarded be three times the damages suffered. These damages in excess of reparation are penalties for violation of the law. They are payable to the injured party in order to induce him to take the initiative in the enforcement of the criminal law and in this respect are similar to the earlier methods of private prosecutions under the criminal law. All three of these methods of enforcement are based on decisions that a criminal law was violated and therefore that a crime was committed; the decisions of a civil court or a court of equity as to these violations are as good evidence of criminal behavior as is the decision of a criminal court.

The Sherman antitrust law has been amended by the Federal Trade Commission Law, the Clayton Law, and several other laws. Some of these amendments define violations as crimes and provide the conventional penalties, but most of the amendments do not make the criminality explicit. A large proportion of the cases which are dealt with under these amendments could be dealt with, instead, under the original Sherman Law, which is explicitly a criminal law. In practice, the amendments are under the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission, which has authority to make official decisions as to violations. The Commission has two principal sanctions under its control, namely: the stipulation and the cease and desist order. The Commission may, after the violation of the law has been proved, accept a stipulation from the corporation that it will not violate the law in the future. Such stipulations are customarily restricted to the minor or technical violations. If a stipulation is violated or if no stipulation is accepted, the Commission may issue a cease and desist order; this is equivalent to a court's injunction except that violation is not punishable as contempt. If the Commission's desist order is violated, the Commission may apply to the court for an injunction, the violation of which is punishable as contempt. By an amendment to the Federal Trade

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Commission Law in the Wheeler-Lea Act of 1938 an order of the Commission becomes "final" if not officially questioned within a specified time and thereafter its violation is punishable by a civil fine. Thus, although certain interim procedures may be used in the enforcement of the amendments to the antitrust law, fines or imprisonment for contempt are available if the interim procedures fail. In this respect the interim procedures are similar to probation in ordinary criminal cases. An unlawful act is not defined as criminal by the fact that it is punished, but by the fact that it is punishable. Larceny is as truly a crime when the thief is placed on probation as when he is committed to prison. The argument may be made that punishment for contempt of court is not punishment for violation of the original law and that, therefore, the original law does not contain a penal sanction. This reasoning is specious since the original law provides the injunction with its penalty as a part of the procedure for enforcement. Consequently all of the decisions made under the amendments to the antitrust law are decisions that the corporations committed crimes.<sup>4</sup>

The laws regarding false advertising, as included in the decisions under consideration, are of two types. First, false advertising in the form of false labels is defined in the Pure Food and Drug Law as a misdemeanor and is punishable by a fine. Second, false advertising generally is defined in the Federal Trade Commission Act as unfair competition. Cases of the second type are under the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission, which uses the same procedures as in antitrust cases. Penal sanctions are available in antitrust cases, as previously described, and are similarly available in these cases of false advertising. Thus, all of the decisions in false advertising cases are decisions that the corporations committed crimes.

The National Labor Relations Law of

<sup>4</sup> Some of the antitrust decisions were made against meat packers under the Packers and Stockyards Act. The penal sanctions in this act are essentially the same as in the Federal Trade Commission Act.

1935 defines a violation as "unfair labor practice." The National Labor Relations Board is authorized to make official decisions as to violations of the law and, in case of violation, to issue desist orders and also to make certain remedial orders, such as reimbursement of employees who had been dismissed or demoted because of activities in collective bargaining. If an order is violated, the Board may apply to the court for enforcement and a violation of the order of the court is punishable as contempt. Thus, all of the decisions under this law, which is enforceable by penal sanctions, are decisions that crimes were committed.

The methods for the repression of infringements vary. Infringements of a copyright or a patented design are defined as misdemeanors, punishable by fines. No case of this type has been discovered against the seventy corporations. Other infringements are not explicitly defined in the statutes on patents, copyrights, and trademarks as crimes and agents of the state are not authorized by these statutes to initiate actions against violators of the law. Nevertheless, infringements may be punished in either of two ways: First, agents of the State may initiate action against infringers under the Federal Trade Commission Law as unfair competition and they do so, especially against infringers of copyrights and trademarks; these infringements are then punishable in the same sense as violations of the amendments to the antitrust laws. Second, the patent, copyright, and trade mark statutes provide that the damages awarded to injured owners of those rights may be greater than (in one statute as much as threefold) the damages actually suffered. These additional damages are not mandatory, as in the Sherman antitrust law, but on the other hand they are not explicitly limited to wanton and malicious infringements. Three decisions against the seventy corporations under the patent law and one under the copyright law included awards of such additional damages and on that account were classified in the tabulation of decisions as evidence of criminal behavior of the corporations. The other decisions, 74 in number, in regard to infringements were classi-

fied as not conclusive evidence of criminal behavior and were discarded. However, in 20 of these 74 cases the decisions of the court contain evidence which would be sufficient to make a *prima facie* case in a criminal prosecution; evidence outside these decisions which may be found in the general descriptions of practices regarding patents, copyrights, and trademarks, justifies a belief that a very large proportion of the 74 cases did, in fact, involve wilful infringement of property rights and might well have resulted in the imposition of a penalty if the injured party and the court had approached the behavior from the point of view of crime.

In the preceding discussion the penalties which are definitive of crime have been limited to fine, imprisonment, and punitive damages. In addition, the stipulation, the desist order, and the injunction, without reference to punishment for contempt, have the attributes of punishment. This is evident both in that they result in some suffering on the part of the corporation against which they are issued and also in that they are designed by legislators and administrators to produce suffering. The suffering is in the form of public shame, as illustrated in more extreme form in the colonial penalty of sewing the letter "T" on the clothing of the thief. The design is shown in the sequence of sanctions used by the Federal Trade Commission. The stipulation involves the least publicity and the least discomfort, and it is used for minor and technical violations. The desist order is used if the stipulation is violated and also if the violation of the law is appraised by the Commission as wilful and major. This involves more public shame; this shame is somewhat mitigated by the statements made by corporations, in exculpation, that such orders are merely the acts of bureaucrats. Still more shameful to the corporation is an injunction issued by a court. The shame resulting from this order is sometimes mitigated and the corporation's face saved by taking a consent decree.<sup>5</sup> The corporation may insist that the consent de-

cree is not an admission that it violated the law. For instance, the meat packers took a consent decree in an antitrust case in 1921, with the explanation that they had not knowingly violated any law and were consenting to the decree without attempting to defend themselves because they wished to co-operate with the government in every possible way. This patriotic motivation appeared questionable, however, after the packers fought during almost all of the next ten years for a modification of the decree. Although the sequence of stipulation, desist order, and injunction indicates that the variations in public shame are designed, these orders have other functions, as well, especially a remedial function and the clarification of the law in a particular complex situation.

The conclusion in this semantic portion of the discussion is that 473 of the 547 decisions are decisions that crimes were committed.

This conclusion may be questioned on the ground that the rules of proof and evidence used in reaching these decisions are not the same as those used in decisions regarding other crimes, especially that some of the agencies which rendered the decisions did not require proof of criminal intent and did not presume the accused to be innocent. These rules of criminal intent and presumption of innocence, however, are not required in all prosecutions under the regular penal code and the number of exceptions is increasing. In many states a person may be committed to prison without protection of one or both of these rules on charges of statutory rape, bigamy, adultery, passing bad checks, selling mortgaged property, defrauding a hotel keeper, and other offenses.<sup>6</sup> Consequently the criteria which have been used in defining white collar crimes are not categorically different from the criteria used in defining other crimes, for these rules are abrogated both in regard to white collar crimes and other crimes, including some felonies. The proportion of decisions rendered against corporations without the protection

<sup>5</sup> The consent decree may be taken for other reasons, especially because it cannot be used as evidence in other suits.

<sup>6</sup> Livingston Hall, "Statutory Law of Crimes, 1887-1936," *Harvard Law Review*. 50:616-53, February, 1937.

of these rules is probably greater than the proportion rendered against other criminals, but a difference in proportions does not make the violations of law by corporations categorically different from the violations of laws by other criminals. Moreover, the difference in proportion, as the procedures actually operate is, not great. On the one side, many of the defendants in usual criminal cases, being in relative poverty, do not get good defense and consequently secure little benefit from these rules; on the other hand, the Commissions come close to observing these rules of proof and evidence although they are not required to do so. This is illustrated by the procedure of the Federal Trade Commission in regard to advertisements. Each year it examines several hundred thousand advertisements and appraises about 50,000 of them as probably false. From the 50,000 it selects about 1,500 as patently false. For instance, an advertisement of gum-wood furniture as "mahogany" would seldom be an accidental error and would generally result from a state of mind which deviated from honesty by more than the natural tendency of human beings to feel proud of their handiwork.

The preceding discussion has shown that these seventy corporations committed crimes according to 473 adverse decisions, and also has shown that the criminality of their behavior was not made obvious by the conventional procedures of the criminal law but was blurred and concealed by special procedures. This differential implementation of the law as applied to the crimes of corporations eliminates or at least minimizes the stigma of crime. This differential implementation of the law began with the Sherman antitrust law of 1890. As previously described, this law is explicitly a criminal law and a violation of the law is a misdemeanor no matter what procedure is used. The customary policy would have been to rely entirely on criminal prosecution as the method of enforcement. But a clever invention was made in the provision of an injunction to enforce a criminal law; this was not only an invention but was a direct reversal of previous case law. Also, private parties were encouraged by treble damages to enforce a criminal law by suits

in civil courts. In either case, the defendant did not appear in the criminal court and the fact that he had committed a crime did not appear in the face of the proceedings.

The Sherman antitrust law, in this respect, became the model in practically all the subsequent procedures authorized to deal with the crimes of corporations. When the Federal Trade Commission bill and the Clayton bill were introduced in Congress, they contained the conventional criminal procedures; these were eliminated in committee discussions, and other procedures which did not carry the external symbols of criminal process were substituted. The violations of these laws are crimes, as has been shown above, but they are treated as though they were not crimes, with the effect and probably the intention of eliminating the stigma of crime.

This policy of eliminating the stigma of crime is illustrated in the following statement by Wendell Berge, at the time assistant to the head of the antitrust division of the Department of Justice, in a plea for abandonment of the criminal prosecution under the Sherman antitrust law and the authorization of civil procedures with civil fines as a substitute.

While civil penalties may be as severe in their financial effects as criminal penalties, yet they do not involve the stigma that attends indictment and conviction. Most of the defendants in antitrust cases are not criminals in the usual sense. There is no inherent reason why antitrust enforcement requires branding them as such.<sup>7</sup>

If a civil fine were substituted for a criminal fine, a violation of the antitrust law would be as truly a crime as it is now. The thing which would be eliminated would be the stigma of crime. Consequently, the stigma of crime has become a penalty in itself, which may be imposed in connection with other penalties or withheld, just as it is possible to combine imprisonment with a fine or have a fine without imprisonment. A civil fine is a financial penalty without the additional penalty of stigma, while a criminal

<sup>7</sup> Wendell Berge, "Remedies Available to the Government under the Sherman Act," *Law and Contemporary Problems*. 7:111. January, 1940.



fine is a financial penalty with the additional penalty of stigma.

When the stigma of crime is imposed as a penalty it places the defendant in the category of criminals and he becomes a criminal according to the popular stereotype of "the criminal." In primitive society "the criminal" was substantially the same as "the stranger,"<sup>8</sup> while in modern society "the criminal" is a person of less esteemed cultural attainments. Seventy-five per cent of the persons committed to state prisons are probably not, aside from their unesteemed cultural attainments, "criminals in the usual sense of the word." It may be excellent policy to eliminate the stigma of crime in a large proportion of cases, but the question at hand is why the law has a different implementation for white collar criminals than for others.

Three factors assist in explaining this differential implementation of the law, namely, the status of the business man, the trend away from punishment, and the relatively unorganized resentment of the public against white collar criminals. Each of these will be described.

First, the methods used in the enforcement of any law are an adaption to the characteristics of the prospective violators of the law, as appraised by the legislators and the judicial and administrative personnel. The appraisals regarding business men, who are the prospective violators of the four laws under consideration, include a combination of fear and admiration. Those who are responsible for the system of criminal justice are afraid to antagonize business men; among other consequences, such antagonism may result in a reduction in contributions to the campaign funds needed to win the next election. Probably much more important is the cultural homogeneity of legislators, judges, and administrators with business men. Legislators admire and respect business men and cannot conceive of them as criminals, that is, business men do not conform to the popular

stereotype of "the criminal." The legislators are confident that these business men will conform as a result of very mild pressures.

This interpretation meets with considerable opposition from persons who insist that this is an egalitarian society in which all men are equal in the eyes of the law. It is not possible to give a complete demonstration of the validity of this interpretation but four types of evidence are presented in the following paragraphs as partial demonstration.

The Department of Justice is authorized to use both criminal prosecutions and petitions in equity to enforce the Sherman antitrust law. The Department has selected the method of criminal prosecution in a larger proportion of cases against trade unions than of cases against corporations, although the law was enacted primarily because of fear of the corporations. From 1890 to 1929 the Department of Justice initiated 438 actions under this law with decisions favorable to the United States. Of the actions against business firms and associations of business firms, 27 per cent were criminal prosecutions, while of the actions against trade unions 71 per cent were criminal prosecutions.<sup>9</sup> This shows that the Department of Justice has been comparatively reluctant to use a method against business firms which carries with it the stigma of crime.

The method of criminal prosecution in enforcement of the Sherman antitrust law has varied from one presidential administration to another. It has seldom been used in the administrations of the presidents who are popularly appraised as friendly toward business, namely, McKinley, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover.

Business men suffered their greatest loss of prestige in the depression which began in 1929. It was precisely in this period of low status of business men that the most strenuous efforts were made to enforce the old laws and enact new laws for the regulation of business men. The appropriations for this purpose were multiplied several times and persons were selected for their vigor in ad-

<sup>8</sup> On the role of the stranger in punitive justice, see Ellsworth Faris, "The Origin of Punishment," *International Journal of Ethics*, 25:54-67, October, 1914; George H. Mead, "The Psychology of Punitive Justice," *American Journal of Sociology*, 23: 577-602, March, 1918.

<sup>9</sup> Percentages compiled from cases listed in the report of the Department of Justice "Federal Antitrust Laws, 1938."

ministration of the laws. Of the 547 decisions against the seventy corporations during their life careers, which have averaged about forty years, 63 per cent were rendered in the period 1935-43, that is, during the period of the low status of business men.

The Federal Trade Commission Law states that a violation of the antitrust laws by a corporation shall be deemed to be, also, a violation by the officers and directors of the corporation. However, business men are practically never convicted as persons and several cases have been reported, like the six per cent case against the automobile manufacturers, in which the corporation was convicted and the persons who direct the corporation were all acquitted.<sup>10</sup>

A second factor in the explanation of the differential implementation of the law as applied to white collar criminals is the trend away from reliance on penal methods. This trend advanced more rapidly in the area of white collar crimes than of other crimes because this area, due to the recency of the statutes, is least bound by precedents and also because of the status of business men. This trend is seen in the almost complete abandonment of the most extreme penalties of death and physical torture; in the supplanting of conventional penal methods by non-penal methods such as probation and the case work methods which accompany probation; and in the supplementing of penal methods by non-penal methods, as in the development of case work and educational policies in prisons. These decreases in penal methods are explained by a series of social changes: the increased power of the lower socio-economic class upon which previously most of the penalties were inflicted; the inclusion within the scope of the penal laws of a large part of the upper socio-economic class as illustrated by traffic regulations; the increased social interaction among the classes, which has resulted in increased understanding and sympathy; the failure of penal

methods to make substantial reductions in crime rates; and the weakening hold on the legal profession and others of the individualistic and hedonistic psychology which had placed great emphasis on pain in the control of behavior. To some extent overlapping those just mentioned is the fact that punishment, which was previously the chief reliance for control in the home, the school, and the church, has tended to disappear from those institutions, leaving the State without cultural support for its own penal methods.<sup>11</sup>

White collar crime is similar to juvenile delinquency in respect to the differential implementation of the law. In both cases, the procedures of the criminal law are modified so that the stigma of crime will not attach to the offenders. The stigma of crime has been less completely eliminated from juvenile delinquents than from white collar criminals because the procedures for the former are a less complete departure from conventional criminal procedures, because most juvenile delinquents come from a class with low social status, and because the juveniles have not organized to protect their good names. Because the juveniles have not been successfully freed from the stigma of crime they have been generally held to be within the scope of the theories of criminology and in fact provide a large part of the data for criminology; because the external symbols have been more successfully eliminated from white collar crimes, white collar crimes have generally not been included within these theories.

A third factor in the differential implementation of the law is the difference in the relation between the law and the mores in the area of white collar crime. The laws under consideration are recent and do not have a firm foundation in public ethics or business ethics; in fact certain rules of business ethics, such as the contempt for the "price chiseler," are generally in conflict with the law. These crimes are not obvious, as is assault and battery, and can be ap-

<sup>10</sup>The question may be asked, "If business men are so influential, why did they not retain the protection of the rules of the criminal procedure?" The answer is that they lost this protection, despite their status, on the principle "You can't eat your cake and have it, too."

<sup>11</sup>The trend away from penal methods suggests that the penal sanction may not be a completely adequate criterion in the definition of crime.

preciated readily only by persons who are expert in the occupations in which they occur. A corporation often violates a law for a decade or longer before the administrative agency becomes aware of the violation, and in the meantime the violation may have become accepted practice in the industry. The effects of a white collar crime upon the public are diffused over a long period of time and perhaps over millions of people, with no person suffering much at a particular time. The public agencies of communication do not express and organize the moral sentiments of the community as to white collar crimes in part because the crimes are complicated and not easily presented as news, but probably in greater part because these agencies of communication are owned or controlled by the business men who violate the laws and because these agencies are themselves frequently charged with violations of the same laws. Public opinion in regard to picking pockets would not be well organized if most of the information regarding this crime came to the public directly from the pick-pockets themselves.

This third factor, if properly limited, is a valid part of the explanation of the differential implementation of the law. It tends to be exaggerated and become the complete explanation in the form of a denial that white collar crimes involve any moral culpability whatever. On that account it is desirable to state a few reasons why this factor is not the complete explanation.

The assertion is sometimes made that white collar crimes are merely technical violations and involve no moral culpability, i.e., violation of the mores, whatever. In fact, these white collar crimes, like other crimes, are distributed along a continuum in which the *mala in se* are at one extreme and the *mala prohibita* at the other.<sup>12</sup> None of the white collar crimes is purely arbitrary, as is the regulation that one must drive on the right side of the street, which might equally well be that he must drive on the left side.

<sup>12</sup> An excellent discussion of this continuum is presented by Jerome Hall, "Prolegomena to a Science of Criminal Law," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*. 89:563-69, March, 1941.

The Sherman antitrust law, for instance, is regarded by many persons as an unwise law and it may well be that some other policy would be preferable. It is questioned principally by persons who believe in a more collectivistic economic system, namely, the communists and the leaders of big business, while its support comes largely from an emotional ideology in favor of free enterprise which is held by farmers, wage-earners, small business men, and professional men. Therefore, as appraised by the majority of the population it is necessary for the preservation of American institutions and its violation is a violation of strongly entrenched moral sentiments.

The sentimental reaction toward a particular white collar crime is certainly different from that toward some other crimes. This difference is often exaggerated, especially as the reaction occurs in urban society. The characteristic reaction of the average citizen in the modern city toward burglary is apathy unless he or his immediate friends are victims or unless the case is very spectacular. The average citizen, reading in his morning paper that the home of an unknown person has been burglarized by another unknown person, has no appreciable increase in blood pressure. Fear and resentment develop in modern society primarily as the result of the accumulation of crimes as depicted in crime rates or in general descriptions, and this develops both as to white collar crimes and other crimes.

Finally, although many laws have been enacted for the regulation of occupations other than business, such as agriculture or plumbing, the procedures used in the enforcement of those other laws are more nearly the same as the conventional criminal procedures, and law-violators in these other occupations are not so completely protected against the stigma of crime as are business men. The relation between the law and the mores tends to be circular. The mores are crystallized in the law and each act of enforcement of the laws tends to re-enforce the mores. The laws regarding white collar crime, which conceal the criminality of the behavior, have been less effective than other laws in re-enforcement of the mores.

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## SENTIMENT AND SYMBOLISM AS ECOLOGICAL VARIABLES

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SYSTEMATIZATION of ecological theory has thus far proceeded on two main premises regarding the character of space and the nature of locational activities. The first premise postulates that the sole relation of space to locational activities is an impeditive and cost-imposing one. The second premise assumes that locational activities are primarily economizing, "fiscal" agents.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of these two premises the only possible relationship that locational activities may bear to space is an economic one. In such a relationship each activity will seek to so locate as to minimize the obstruction put upon its functions by spatial distance. Since the supply of the desired locations is limited it follows that not all activities can be favored with choice sites. Consequently a competitive process ensues in which the scarce desirable locations are preempted by those locational activities which can so exploit advantageous location as to produce the greatest surplus of income over expenditure. Less desirable locations devolve to correspondingly less economizing land uses. The result is a pattern of land use that is presumed to be most efficient for both the individual locational activity and for the community.<sup>2</sup>

Given the contractualistic milieu within which the modern city has arisen and ac-

quires its functions, such an "economic ecology" has had a certain explanatory adequacy in describing urban spatial structure and dynamics. However, as any theory matures and approaches a logical closure of its generalizations it inevitably encounters facts which remain unassimilable to the theoretical scheme. In this paper it will be our purpose to describe certain ecological processes which apparently cannot be embraced in a strictly economic analysis. Our hypothesis is that the data to be presented, while in no way startling or unfamiliar to the research ecologist, do suggest an alteration of the basic premises of ecology. This alteration would consist, first, of ascribing to space not only an impeditive quality but also an additional property, *viz.*, that of being at times a symbol for certain cultural values that have become associated with a certain spatial area. Second, it would involve a recognition that locational activities are not only economizing agents but may also bear sentiments which can significantly influence the locational process.<sup>3</sup>

A test case for this twofold hypothesis is afforded by certain features of land use in central Boston. In common with many of the older American cities Boston has inherited from the past certain spatial patterns and landmarks which have had a remarkable persistence and even recuperative power despite challenges from other more economic land uses. The persistence of these spatial patterns can only be understood in terms of the group values that they have come to symbolize. We shall describe three types of such patterns: first, an in-town upper class residential neighborhood known as Beacon Hill; second, certain "sacred sites," notably the

<sup>1</sup> See Everett C. Hughes, "The Ecological Aspect of Institutions," *American Sociological Review*, 1:180-9, April, 1936.

<sup>2</sup> This assumption of a correspondence between the maximum utility of a private association and that of the community may be questioned within the very framework of marginal utility analysis. See particularly A. C. Pigou, *The Economics of Welfare*. Second Edition, London: 1924, Part II, ch. 8. For a clear presentation of the typical position see Robert Murray Haig, "Towards an Understanding of the Metropolis—the Assignment of Activities to Areas in Urban Regions," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 40:402-34, May, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> Georg Simmel, "Der Raum und die räumlichen Ordnungen der Gesellschaft," *Soziologie*. Munich: 1923, pp. 518-22; cf. Hughes, *op. cit.*



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Boston Common and the colonial burying-grounds; and third, a lower class Italian neighborhood known as the North End. In each of these land uses we shall find certain locational processes which seem to defy a strictly economic analysis.

The first of the areas, Beacon Hill, is located some five minutes' walking distance from the retail center of Boston. This neighborhood has for fully a century and a half maintained its character as a preferred upper class residential district, despite its contiguity to a low rent tenement area, the West End. During its long history Beacon Hill has become the symbol for a number of sentimental associations which constitute a genuine attractive force to certain old families of Boston. Some idea of the nature of these sentiments may be had from statements in the innumerable pamphlets and articles written by residents of the Hill. References to "this sacred eminence,"<sup>4</sup> "stately old-time appearance,"<sup>5</sup> and "age-old quaintness and charm,"<sup>6</sup> give an insight into the attitudes attaching to the area. One resident reveals rather clearly the spatial referability of these sentiments when she writes of the Hill:

It has a tradition all its own, that begins in the hospitality of a book-lover, and has never lost that flavor. Yes, our streets are inconvenient, steep, and slippery. The corners are abrupt, the contours perverse. . . . It may well be that the gibes of our envious neighbors have a foundation and that these dear crooked lanes of ours were indeed traced in ancestral mud by absent-minded kine.<sup>7</sup>

Behind such expressions of sentiment are a number of historical associations connected with the area. Literary traditions are among the strongest of these; indeed, the whole literary legend of Boston has its focus at Beacon Hill. Many of America's most dis-

tinguished literati have occupied homes on the Hill. Present day occupants of these houses derive a genuine satisfaction from the individual histories of their dwellings.<sup>8</sup> One lady whose home had had a distinguished pedigree remarked:

I like living here for I like to think that a great deal of historic interest has happened here in this room.

Not a few families are able to trace a continuity of residence on the Hill for several

TABLE I. NUMBER OF UPPER CLASS FAMILIES IN BOSTON, BY DISTRICTS OF CONCENTRATION, AND IN MAIN SUBURBAN TOWNS, FOR CERTAIN YEARS

	1894	1905	1914	1929	1943
Within Boston					
Beacon Hill	280	242	279	362	335
Back Bay	867	1166	1102	880	556
Jamaica Plain	56	66	64	36	30
Other districts	316	161	114	86	41
Suburban Towns					
Brookline	137	300	348	355	372
Newton	38	89	90	164	247
Cambridge	77	142	147	223	257
Milton	37	71	106	131	202
Dedham	8	29	48	69	99
Other towns	106	176	310	403	816
Total in Boston	1519	1635	1559	1364	962
Total in Suburbs	403	807	1049	1345	1993
Totals	1922	2442	2608	2709	2955

Tabulated from: *Social Register, Boston*

generations, some as far back as 1800 when the Hill was first developed as an upper class neighborhood. It is a point of pride to a Beacon Hill resident if he can say that he was born on the Hill or was at least raised there; a second best boast is to point out that his forebears once lived on the Hill.

Thus a wide range of sentiments—esthetic, historical, and familial—have acquired a spatial articulation in Beacon Hill. The bearing of these sentiments upon locational processes is a tangible one and assumes three forms: retentive, attractive, and resistive. Let us consider each of these in order. To measure the retentive influence

<sup>4</sup> John R. Shultz, *Beacon Hill and the Carol Singers*. Boston: 1923, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Bulletin of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities*. 4:3, August, 1913.

<sup>6</sup> Josephine Samson, *Celebrities of Louisburg Square*. Greenfield, Mass.: 1924.

<sup>7</sup> Abbie Farwell Brown, *The Lights of Beacon Hill*. Boston, 1922, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*. New Haven, 1941, p. 107, on this pattern.

that spatially-referred sentiments may exert upon locational activities we have tabulated by place of residence all the families listed in the *Boston Social Register* for the years 1894, 1905, 1914, 1929, and 1943. This should afford a reasonably accurate picture of the distribution of upper class families by

1905) in two of the in-town upper class areas, Back Bay and Jamaica Plain. Although both of these neighborhoods remain fashionable residential districts their prestige is waning rapidly. Back Bay in particular, though still surpassing in numbers any other single neighborhood, has undergone a steady invasion of apartment buildings, rooming houses, and business establishments which are destroying its prestige value. The trend of Beacon Hill has been different. Today it has a larger number of upper class families than it had in 1894. Where it ranked second among fashionable neighborhoods in 1894 it ranks third today, being but slightly outranked in numbers by the suburban city of Brookline and by the Back Bay. Beacon Hill is the only in-town district that has consistently retained its preferred character and has held to itself a considerable proportion of Boston's old families.

There is, however, another aspect to the spatial dynamics of Beacon Hill, one that pertains to the "attractive" locational role of spatially referred sentiments. From 1894 to 1905 the district underwent a slight drop, subsequently experiencing a steady rise for 24 years, and most recently undergoing another slight decline. These variations are significant, and they bring out rather clearly the dynamic ecological role of spatial symbolism. The initial drop is attributable to the development of the then new Back

Bay. Hundreds of acres there had been reclaimed from marshland and had been built up with palatial dwellings. Fashion now pointed to this as the select area of the city and in response to its dictates a number of families abandoned Beacon Hill to take up more pretentious Back Bay quarters. Property values on the Hill began to depreciate, old dwellings became rooming houses, and businesses began to invade some of the streets. But many of the old families remained on the Hill and a few of them made efforts to

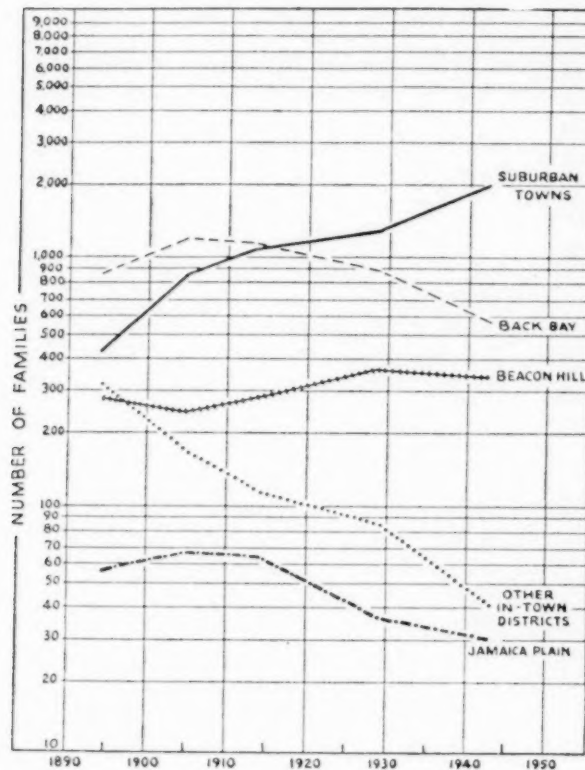


Figure I. Number of Upper Class Families in Boston, by Districts of Concentration, and in Suburbs, for certain years.

neighborhoods within Boston and in suburban towns. In Table I we have presented the tabulations for the three in-town concentrations of upper class families (Beacon Hill, Back Bay, and Jamaica Plain) and for the five main suburban concentrations (Brookline, Newton, Cambridge, Milton, and Dedham). Figure I portrays these trends in graphic form. The most apparent feature of these data is, of course, the consistent increase of upper class families in the suburban towns and the marked decrease (since

halt the gradual deterioration of the district. Under the aegis of a realtor, an architect, and a few close friends there was launched a program of purchasing old houses, modernizing the interiors and leaving the colonial exteriors intact, and then selling the dwellings to individual families for occupancy. Frequently adjoining neighbors would collaborate in planning their improvements so as to achieve an architectural consonance. The results of this program may be seen in the drift of upper class families back to the Hill. From 1905 to 1929 the number of *Social Register* families in the district increased by 120. Assessed valuations showed a corresponding increase: from 1919 to 1924 there was a rise of 24 percent; from 1924 to 1929 the rise was 25 percent.<sup>9</sup> The nature of the Hill's appeal, and the kind of persons attracted, may be gathered from the following popular write-up:

To salvage the quaint charm of Colonial Architecture on Beacon Hill, Boston, is the object of a well-defined movement among writers and professional folk that promises the most delightful opportunities for the home seeker of moderate means and conservative tastes. Because men of discernment were able to visualize the possibilities presented by these architectural landmarks, and have undertaken the gracious task of restoring them to their former glory, this historic quarter of old Boston, once the centre of literary culture, is coming into its own.<sup>10</sup>

The independent variable in this "attractive" locational process seems to have been the symbolic quality of the Hill, by which it constituted a referent for certain strong sentiments of upper class Bostonians.

While this revival was progressing there remained a constant menace to the character of Beacon Hill, in the form of business encroachments and apartment-hotel developments. Recurrent threats from this source finally prompted residents of the Hill to organize themselves into the Beacon Hill

Association. Formed in 1922, the declared object of this organization was "to keep undesirable business and living conditions from affecting the hill district."<sup>11</sup> At the time the city was engaged in preparing a comprehensive zoning program and the occasion was propitious to secure for Beacon Hill suitable protective measures. A systematic set of recommendations was drawn up by the Association regarding a uniform 65-foot height limit for the entire Hill, the exclusion of business from all but two streets, and the restriction of apartment house bulk.<sup>12</sup> It succeeded in gaining only a partial recognition of this program in the 1924 zoning ordinance. But the Association continued its fight against inimical land uses year after year. In 1927 it successfully fought a petition brought before the Board of Zoning Adjustment to alter the height limits in one area so as to permit the construction of a four million dollar apartment-hotel 155 feet high. Residents of the Hill went to the hearing en masse. In spite of the prospect of an additional twenty million dollars worth of exclusive apartment hotels that were promised if the zoning restrictions were withheld the petition was rejected, having been opposed by 214 of the 220 persons present at the hearing.<sup>13</sup> In 1930 the Association gained an actual reduction in height limits on most of Beacon street and certain adjoining streets, though its leader was denounced by opponents as "a rank sentimentalist who desired to keep Boston a village."<sup>14</sup> One year later the Association defeated a petition to rezone Beacon street for business purposes.<sup>15</sup> In other campaigns the Association successfully pressed for the rezoning of a business street back to purely residential purposes, for the lowering of height limits on the remainder of Beacon street, and for several lesser matters of local interest. Since 1929, owing partly to excess assessed valuations of Boston real

<sup>11</sup> *The Boston Transcript*. December 6, 1922.

<sup>12</sup> *The Boston Transcript*. March 18, 1933.

<sup>13</sup> *The Boston Transcript*. January 29, 1927.

<sup>14</sup> *The Boston Transcript*. April 12, 1930.

<sup>15</sup> *The Boston Transcript*. January 10, January 29, 1931.

<sup>9</sup> *The Boston Transcript*. April 12, 1930.

<sup>10</sup> Harriet Sisson Gillespie, "Reclaiming Colonial Landmarks," *The House Beautiful*. 58:239-41, September, 1925.



estate and partly to the effects of the depression upon families living on securities, Beacon Hill has lost some of its older families, though its decline is nowhere near so precipitous as that of the Back Bay.

Thus for a span of one and a half centuries there have existed on Beacon Hill certain locational processes that largely escape economic analysis. It is the symbolic quality of the Hill, not its impeditive or cost-imposing character, that most tangibly correlates with the retentive, attractive, and resistive trends that we have observed. And it is the dynamic force of spatially referred sentiments, rather than considerations of rent, which explains why certain families have chosen to live on Beacon Hill in preference to other in-town districts having equally accessible location and even superior housing conditions. There is thus a non-economic aspect to land use on Beacon Hill, one which is in some respects actually dis-economic in its consequences. Certainly the large apartment-hotels and specialty shops that have sought in vain to locate on the Hill would have represented a fuller capitalization on potential property values than do residences. In all likelihood the attending increase in real estate prices would not only have benefited individual property holders but would have so enhanced the value of adjoining properties as to compensate for whatever depreciation other portions of the Hill might have experienced.

If we turn to another type of land use pattern in Boston, that comprised by the Boston Common and the old burying grounds, we encounter another instance of spatial symbolism which has exerted a marked influence upon the ecological organization of the rest of the city. The Boston Common is a survival from colonial days when every New England town allotted a portion of its land to common use as a cow pasture and militia field. Over the course of three centuries Boston has grown entirely around the Common so that today we find a 48-acre tract of land wedged directly into the heart of the business district. On three of its five sides are women's apparel shops, department stores, theaters and other

high-rent locational activities. On the fourth side is Beacon street, extending alongside Beacon Hill. Only the activities of Hill residents have prevented business from invading this side. The fifth side is occupied by the Public Garden. A land value map portrays a strip of highest values pressing upon two sides of the Common, on Tremont and Boylston streets, taking the form of a long, narrow band.

Before considering the ecological consequences of this configuration let us see what attitudes have come to be associated with the Common. There is an extensive local literature about the Common and in it we find interesting sentiments expressed. One citizen speaks of:

... the great principle exemplified in the preservation of the Common. Thank Heaven, the tide of money making must break and go around that.<sup>16</sup>

Elsewhere we read:

Here, in short, are all our accumulated memories, intimate, public, private.<sup>17</sup>

Boston Common was, is, and ever will be a source of tradition and inspiration from which the New Englanders may renew their faith, recover their moral force, and strengthen their ability to grow and achieve.<sup>18</sup>

The Common has thus become a "sacred" object, articulating and symbolizing genuine historical sentiments of a certain portion of the community. Like all such objects its sacredness derives, not from any intrinsic spatial attributes, but rather from its representation in peoples' minds as a symbol for collective sentiments.<sup>19</sup>

Such has been the force of these sentiments that the Common has become buttressed up by a number of legal guarantees. The city charter forbids Boston in perpetuity to dispose of the Common or any portion of it.

<sup>16</sup> Speech of William Everett, quoted in *The Boston Transcript*, March 7, 1903.

<sup>17</sup> T. R. Sullivan, *Boston New and Old*. Boston: 1912, pp. 45-6.

<sup>18</sup> Joshua H. Jones, Jr., "Happenings on Boston Common," *Our Boston*, 2:9-15, January, 1927.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. London: 1915, p. 345.

The city is further prohibited by state legislation from building upon the Common, except within rigid limits, or from laying out roads or tracks across it.<sup>20</sup> By accepting the bequest of one George F. Parkman, in 1908, amounting to over five million dollars, the city is further bound to maintain the Common, and certain other parks, "for the benefit and enjoyment of its citizens."<sup>21</sup>

What all this has meant for the spatial development of Boston's retail center is clear from the present character of that district. Few cities of comparable size have so small a retail district in point of area. Unlike the spacious department stores of most cities, those in Boston are frequently compressed within narrow confines and have had to extend in devious patterns through rear and adjoining buildings. Traffic in downtown Boston has literally reached the saturation point, owing partly to the narrow one-way streets but mainly to the lack of adequate arterials leading into and out of the Hub. The American Road Builders Association has estimated that there is a loss of \$81,000 per day in Boston as a result of traffic delay. Trucking in Boston is extremely expensive. These losses ramify out to merchants, manufacturers, commuters, and many other interests.<sup>22</sup> Many proposals have been made to extend a through arterial across the Common, thus relieving the extreme congestion on Tremont and Beacon streets, the two arterials bordering the park.<sup>23</sup> Earlier suggestions, prior to the construction of the subway, called for street car tracks across the Common. But "the controlling sentiment of the citizens of Boston, and of large numbers throughout the State, is distinctly opposed to allowing any such use of the Common."<sup>24</sup> Boston has long suffered from land shortage and unusually high real estate values as a

result both of the narrow confines of the peninsula comprising the city center and as a result of the exclusion from income-yielding uses of so large a tract as the Common.<sup>25</sup> A further difficulty has arisen from the rapid southwesterly extension of the business district in the past two decades. With the Common lying directly in the path of this extension the business district has had to stretch around it in an elongated fashion, with obvious inconvenience to shoppers and consequent loss to businesses.

The Common is not the only obstacle to the city's business expansion. No less than three colonial burying-grounds, two of them adjoined by ancient church buildings, occupy downtown Boston. The contrast that is presented by 9-story office buildings reared up beside quiet cemeteries affords visible evidence of the conflict between "sacred" and "profane" that operates in Boston's ecological pattern. The dis-economic consequences of commercially valuable land being thus devoted to non-utilitarian purposes goes even further than the removal from business uses of a given amount of space. For it is a standard principle of real estate that business property derives added value if adjoining properties are occupied by other businesses.<sup>26</sup> Just as a single vacancy will depreciate the value of a whole block of business frontage, so a break in the continuity of stores by a cemetery damages the commercial value of surrounding properties. But, even more than the Common, the colonial burying-grounds of Boston have become invested with a moral significance which renders them almost inviolable. Not only is there the usual sanctity which attaches to all cemeteries, but in those of Boston there is an added sacredness growing out of the age of the grounds and the fact that the forebears of many of New England's most distinguished families as

<sup>20</sup> St. 1850, c. 210, paragraph 3; Pub sts. c 54, paragraph 13.

<sup>21</sup> M. A. De Wolfe Howe, *Boston Common*. Cambridge: 1910, p. 79.

<sup>22</sup> Elisabeth M. Herlihy, Ed., *Fifty Years of Boston*. Boston: 1932, pp. 53-4.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, letter to editor, *The Boston Herald*, November 16, 1930.

<sup>24</sup> *First Annual Report of the Boston Transit Commission*. Boston: 1895, p. 9.

<sup>25</sup> John C. Kiley, "Changes in Realty Values in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*. 15, June, 1941, p. 36; Frank Chouteau Brown, "Boston: More Growing Pains," *Our Boston*. 3, February, 1927, p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> Richard M. Hurd, *Principles of City Land Values*. New York: 1903, pp. 93-4.

well as a number of colonial and Revolutionary leaders lie buried in these cemeteries. There is thus a manifold symbolism to these old burying-grounds, pertaining to family lineage, early nationhood, civic origins, and the like, all of which have strong sentimental associations. What has been said of the old burying-grounds applies with equal force to a number of other venerable landmarks in central Boston. Such buildings as the Old South Meeting-House, the Park Street Church, King's Chapel, and the Old State House—all foci of historical associations—occupy commercially valuable land and interrupt the continuity of business frontage on their streets. Nearly all of these landmarks have been challenged at various times by real estate and commercial interests which sought to have them replaced by more profitable uses. In every case community sentiments have resisted such threats.

In all these examples we find a symbol-sentiment relationship which has exerted a significant influence upon land use. Nor should it be thought that such phenomena are mere ecological "sports." Many other older American cities present similar locational characteristics. Delancey street in Philadelphia represents a striking parallel to Beacon Hill, and certain in-town districts of Chicago, New York, and Detroit, recently revived as fashionable apartment areas, bear resemblances to the Beacon Hill revival. The role of traditionalism in rigidifying the ecological patterns of New Orleans has been demonstrated in a recent study.<sup>27</sup> Further studies of this sort should clarify even further the true scope of sentiment and symbolism in urban spatial structure and dynamics.

As a third line of evidence for our hypothesis we have chosen a rather different type of area from those so far considered. It is a well known fact that immigrant ghettos, along with other slum districts, have become areas of declining population in most American cities. A point not so well established is that this decline tends to be selective in its incidence upon residents and that this selec-

tivity may manifest varying degrees of identification with immigrant values. For residence within a ghetto is more than a matter of spatial placement; it generally signifies acceptance of immigrant values and participation in immigrant institutions. Some light on this process is afforded by data from the North End of Boston. This neighborhood, almost wholly Italian in population, has long been known as "Boston's classic land of poverty."<sup>28</sup> Eighteen percent of the dwellings are eighty or more years old, and sixty percent are forty or more years old.<sup>29</sup> Indicative of the dilapidated character of many buildings is the recent sale of a 20-room apartment building for only \$500. It is not surprising then to learn that the area has declined in population from 21,111 in 1930 to 17,598 in 1940.<sup>30</sup> To look for spatially referable sentiments here would seem futile. And yet, examination of certain emigration differentials in the North End reveals a congruence between Italian social structure and locational processes. To get at these differentials recourse was had to the estimation of emigration, by age groups and by nativity, through the use of life tables. The procedure consists of comparing the actual 1940 population with the residue of the 1930 population which probably survived to 1940 according to survival rates for Massachusetts. Whatever deficit the actual 1940 population may show from the estimated 1940 population is a measure of "effective emigration." It is not a measure of the actual volume of emigration, since no calculation is made of immigration into the district between 1930 and 1940.<sup>31</sup> Effective emigration simply indi-

<sup>28</sup> Robert A. Woods, Ed., *Americans in Process*. Boston, 1903, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> Finance Commission of the City of Boston, *A Study of Certain of the Effects of Decentralization on Boston and Some Neighboring Cities and Towns*. Boston: 1941, p. 11.

<sup>30</sup> Aggregate population of census tracts F1, F2, F4, F5: *Census Tract Data, 1930 Census*, unpublished material from 15th Census of the United States, 1930, compiled by Boston Health Department, table 1; *Population and Housing—Statistics for Census Tracts, Boston*. 16th Census of the United States, 1940, table 2.

<sup>31</sup> By use of *Police Lists* for two different years a count was made of immigration into a sample

<sup>27</sup> H. W. Gilmore, "The Old New Orleans and the New: A Case for Ecology," *American Sociological Review*. 9:385-94, August, 1944.



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cates the extent of population decline which is attributable to emigration rather than to death. Computations thus made for emigration differentials by nativity show the following: (Table II.)

TABLE II. EFFECTIVE EMIGRATION FROM THE NORTH END, BOSTON, 1930 TO 1940, BY NATIVITY

Nativity	1930 Popu- lation	Per cent of 1930 Pop. in each Nativity Group	Effec- tive Emigra- tion 1930- 1940	Per cent of Emi- gration accounted for by each Nativity Group
American-born (second generation)	12553	59.46	3399	76.42
Italian-born (first generation)	8557	40.54	1049	23.58
Totals	21110	100.00	4448	100.00

Calculated from: census tract data and survival rates

Thus the second generation, comprising but 59.46 percent of the 1930 population, contributed 76.42 percent of the effective emigration from the North End, whereas the first generation accounted for much less than its "due" share of the emigration. Another calculation shows that where the effective emigration of second generation Italians represents 27.08 percent of their number in 1930, that of the first generation represents only 12.26 percent of their number in 1930.

Equally clear differentials appear in effective emigration by age groups. If we compare the difference between the percentage which each age group as of 1930 contributes to the effective emigration, and

the percentage which each age group comprised of the 1930 population, we find that the age groups 15-24 account for much more than their share of effective emigration; the age groups 35-64 account for much less than their share.<sup>32</sup> In Table III the figures preceded by a plus sign indicate "excess" emigration, those preceded by a minus sign indicate "deficit" emigration.

TABLE III. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTED BY EACH AGE GROUP TO EFFECTIVE EMIGRATION AND PERCENTAGE IT COMPRISED OF 1930 POPULATION

Age Groups as of 1930	Differences between Percentages	
	Male	Female
under 5	-1.70	-0.33
5-9	+0.38	+0.04
10-14	+0.21	+2.66
15-19	+4.18	+3.01
20-24	+2.04	+2.35
25-34	-0.97	-0.07
35-44	-2.31	-1.09
45-54	-1.43	-1.17
55-64	-2.29	-1.19
65-74	-1.13	-0.59
75 and over	uncalculable	

Calculated from: census tract data and survival rates

In brief, the North End is losing its young people to a much greater extent than its older people.

These differentials are in no way startling; what is interesting, however, is their congruence with basic Italian values, which find their fullest institutionalized expression in the North End. Emigration from the district may be viewed as both a cause and a symbol of alienation from these values. At the core of the Italian value system are those sentiments which pertain to the family and the *paesani*. Both of these put a high premium upon maintenance of residence in the North End.

*Paesani*, or people from the same village

<sup>32</sup> Obviously most of the emigrants in the 15-24 age group in 1930 migrated while in the age group 20-29; likewise the emigrants in the 35-64 age group migrated while in the 40-69 age group.

precinct of the North End. The figure (61) reveals so small a volume of immigration that any use of it to compute actual emigration by age groups would have introduced statistical unreliability into the estimates. Survival rates for Massachusetts were computed from state life tables in: National Resources Committee, *Population Statistics, 2. State Data*. Washington: 1937, Part C, p. 38. The technique is outlined in C. Warren Thornthwaite, *Internal Migration in the United States*. Philadelphia: 1934, pp. 19-21.



of origin, show considerable tendency to live near one another, sometimes occupying much of a single street or court.<sup>33</sup> Such proximity, or at least common residence in the North End, greatly facilitates participation in the *paesani* functions which are so important to the first generation Italian. Moreover, it is in the North End that the *festas*, anniversaries, and other old world occasions are held, and such is their frequency that residence in the district is almost indispensable to regular participation. The social relationships comprised by these groupings, as well as the benefit orders, secret societies, and religious organizations, are thus strongly localistic in character. One second generation Italian, when asked if his immigrant parents ever contemplated leaving their North End tenement replied:

No, because all their friends are there, their relatives. They know everyone around there.

It is for this reason that the first generation Italian is so much less inclined to leave the North End than the American born Italian.

Equally significant is the localistic character of the Italian family. So great is its solidarity that it is not uncommon to find a tenement entirely occupied by a single extended family: grandparents, matured children with their mates, and grandchildren. There are instances where such a family has overflowed one tenement and has expanded into an adjoining one, breaking out the partitions for doorways. These are ecological expressions, in part, of the expected concern which an Italian mother has for the welfare of her newly married daughter. The ideal pattern is for the daughter to continue living in her mother's house, with she and her husband being assigned certain rooms which they are supposed to furnish themselves. Over the course of time the young couple is expected to accumulate savings and buy their own home, preferably not far away. Preferential renting, by which an Italian who owns a tenement will let apartments to his

relatives at a lower rental, is another manifestation of the localizing effects of Italian kinship values.

Departure from the North End generally signifies some degree of repudiation of the community's values. One Italian writes of an emigrant from the North End:

I still remember with regret the vain smile of superiority that appeared on his face when I told him that I lived at the North End of Boston. "*Io non vado fra quella plebaglia.*" (I do not go among those plebeians.)<sup>34</sup>

As a rule the older Italian is unwilling to make this break, if indeed he could. It is the younger adults, American-born and educated, who are capable of making the transition to another value system with radically different values and goals.

Residence in the North End seems therefore to be a spatial corollary to integration with Italian values. Likewise emigration from the district signifies assimilation into American values, and is so construed by the people themselves. Thus, while the area is not the conscious object of sentimental attachment, as are Beacon Hill and the Common, it has nonetheless become a symbol for Italian ethnic solidarity. By virtue of this symbolic quality the area has a certain retentive power over those residents who most fully share the values which prevail there.

It is reasonable to suggest, then, that the slum is much more than "an area of minimum choice."<sup>35</sup> Beneath the surface phenomenon of declining population there may be differential rates of decline which require positive formulation in a systematic ecological theory. Such processes are apparently refractory to analysis in terms of competition for least impeditive location. A different order of concepts, corresponding to the valuative, meaningful aspect of spatial adaptation, must supplement the prevailing economic concepts of ecology.

<sup>33</sup> Enrico C. Sartorio, *Social and Religious Life of Italians in America*. Boston: 1918, pp. 43-4.

<sup>34</sup> R. D. McKenzie, "The Scope of Human Ecology," in Ernest W. Burgess, Ed., *The Urban Community*. Chicago: 1926, p. 180.

<sup>35</sup> William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society*. Chicago: 1943, p. xix.

# A COOPERATIVE HEALTH ASSOCIATION IN SPANISH SPEAKING VILLAGES

OR

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TAOS COUNTY COOPERATIVE HEALTH ASSOCIATION

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THE Taos County Health Association is one of the few experiments in county-wide rural group health and the only such experiment among Spanish-Americans. Although the county-wide project has only been in existence since 1942, the experience accumulated thus far in organizing the association should have some value to leaders who contemplate organizing similar types of co-operatives under comparable conditions.

## GENERAL BACKGROUND OF THE PEOPLE

*Racial and Nationality Divisions and Class Structure.* The discussion which follows concerning the gap between the professional doctors and the people whom they serve takes on a special significance when it is recognized that, although over 95 percent of the people of Taos county are of Spanish mother tongue, all physicians and most other professionals and business people in the county are Anglos. Of course, there exists no caste line between the two groups but inter-marriage is relatively uncommon and in the trade centers where the various representatives of the occupations of the two groups live cleavages are very real. All residents of Taos are more or less conscious of this cleavage and the findings of a study of informal groupings among the Taos High School students indi-

cated that play and association groups restricted their participants to those within their own language groups much more than would normally have been the case if no cleavages existed.<sup>1</sup>

Another important finding of this study was the fact that the members of the Anglo minority group were found to restrict their association to their own group more than did the members of the Spanish-speaking group. Of course, in the villages the people have relatively little occasion to associate with the few Anglos there except as client to store keeper or employee to employer.<sup>2</sup>

Probably the most important aspects of the background of the people who must ultimately support the Co-operative Health Association, namely the Spanish-speaking villagers, will become apparent if the characteristics of the different classes are compared.<sup>3</sup> It should be kept in mind that, as in

<sup>1</sup> Charles P. Loomis: "Ethnic Cleavages in the Southwest as Reflected in Two High Schools," *Sociometry*, Volume VI, No. 1, February, 1943. In this article the author attempted to measure the extent of restriction of association within each language group in Taos High School where the majority of students were Spanish-speaking and in Las Cruces High School where the majority were English-speaking. In Taos county there are less than 1,000 Indians, most of whom live in the Taos Pueblo. The reservation hospital is used but the Indians are not participants in the Association.

<sup>2</sup> Charles P. Loomis and Glenn Grisham, "Spanish Americans," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. 2, No. 3, June, 1943, p. 33, and Florence Kluckhohn, "Los Ataqueños, a Study of Patterns and Configurations in a New Mexico Village," Radcliffe College Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, Mass., 1941.

<sup>3</sup> Donovan Senter, *Villages of the Saints*, manuscript being prepared as a Ph.D. thesis. For the frame of reference of this book, see the *Yankee City Series*, especially Vol. 1: *The Social Life of a Modern Community*. New Haven: Yale University Press, by W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt,

\* Most of the author's travel expenses for this project were paid from a grant made to him by the Carnegie Corporation. His salary was paid by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the United States Department of Agriculture. Field work was done during three consecutive visits to Taos County in 1942, 1943 and 1944.

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most situations in the United States, the class structure is open, and on all levels there is considerable effort to "climb."<sup>4</sup>

The characterization of the Taos County and New Mexican Spanish-American class structure in Table 1 as developed by Senter has more merit as a suggestive device whereby the problems of acculturation involved in the introduction of a health association can be studied than it has as a means by which all Spanish-Americans in Taos County or New Mexico can be classified.<sup>5</sup> From a glance at the characteristics of the classes the reader will observe that the greatest need for medical treatment and the greatest resistance to it is to be expected from the lower class villagers who constitute over two-thirds of the people of Taos county. Since the Anglo professionals "out-class" practically all of the Spanish-Americans in the villages it is to be expected that many doctors would take a "better than thou" attitude toward if not despise the relatively unacculturated villager. If the traits of the middle class villager are studied it will be noted that employing doctors from this class will not overcome this difficulty because these classes, being highly Anglocized, may also despise the lower class villagers.

There are many factors complicating the problems of the Health Association which are not shown in the foregoing description of the classes among Spanish-Americans. It is the lower classes that must send their male workers to other states to herd sheep and cattle, work on farms, railroads and in mines and smelters. During 1943 only 39 percent of a random sample of the members of the Health Association, many of whom are more representative of middle class groups in Taos county than of the lower class groups, had not left their farms to find work. In Sep-

tember of 1942 the author found that about 50 percent of the male population between the ages of 15 and 65 were outside of the six villages chosen to represent the county.<sup>6</sup> It is this same group which suffered most from the loss of the grazing lands to large Anglo livestock companies, National Forests and other reserves. This tragic story has been told elsewhere<sup>7</sup> but it should be recognized that this loss has resulted in considerable bitterness. The Spanish-speaking people who had been isolated from modern commercial and business methods and who did not have the same conception of the grazing lands as did the Anglos who owned such lands, lost their only hope of being independent. Without the grazing lands, the tiny strips of irrigated land to which they cling will not support them. They will be forced to work for wages elsewhere.

*The Medicine Man and Witchcraft as Related to the Problems of the Co-operative Health Association.* The folk beliefs of the lower class Spanish-speaking villagers in Taos are the result of the mingling of the Spanish and Indian cultural streams. The further the acculturation process resulting from the intrusion of Anglo culture has proceeded in a given class, the less the influence of the beliefs in magic and witchcraft. In Taos county as on the reservations<sup>8</sup> one of the greatest reasons why the hospital staffs and the medical doctors have not won the confidence of the common people is their failure to attempt to understand the ability of the witch doctor or what the natives call the *curandero* or *albolario* to put the patient at

<sup>4</sup> *Rural Sociology*. Vol. 7, No. 4, December, 1942.

<sup>5</sup> Olen Leonard, *Role of the Land Grant in the Social Organization and Social Processes of a Spanish-American Village in New Mexico*. Louisiana State University Ph.D. Dissertation, Baton Rouge, 1943; and *Notes on Community-owned Land Grants in New Mexico*. Soil Conservation Service, USDA, Regional Bulletin No. 48, Conservation Economics Series No. 21, August, 1937.

<sup>6</sup> Alice Joseph, "Physician and Patient," *Applied Anthropology*. Vol. 1, No. 4, 1942, and A. H. and D. C. Leighton, *The Navajo Door*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944.

and Allison Davis, et al., *Deep South—A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> For a criticism of this class description see the author's review in *Rural Sociology*. Vol. 7, No. 2, June, 1942, p. 226.



ease and through the use of shrewd psychological techniques create a mental atmosphere suitable to recovery. Instead the local medical staffs are prone to condemn the native practices wholesale and to refuse to try to understand the feelings of insecurity and discomfort which accompany hospitalization of persons who have never been away from familiar faces, who must learn to eat entirely new diets and be treated by many different and unfamiliar people who do not seem to take their malady to heart. There is not space here to describe the beliefs of the people in various witches that are considered evil and witch doctors that are considered good.<sup>9</sup>

*The Pattern of Settlement in Taos County.* Next to the acculturation process going on in Taos county and its relation to the emerging class structures and the primitive beliefs concerning medicine and healing, the pattern of settlement may be most important. Many students have remarked that some of the villages of New Mexico look for all the world as if they had been transplanted from old Spain. It is obvious that the problems of organizing people who are grouped about a square which is within a stone's throw of the center, as is often the case, would usually be more simple than in the case of scattered homes. Whether it be the membership canvasser or the nurse going from house to house, their work is much easier in the villages. Meetings can be called on very short notice in the Taos county villages and if the program promises to be interesting 90 percent of the people will be present.

It should also be recognized that local neighborhood morale and loyalties, like family loyalties are very great among the Spanish-American villagers in Taos county. Any association which must unite these villages and families into a larger structure is confronted by the difficult problem of overcoming local feuds and factions in order that a sense of responsibility to a larger group may be developed. The quite highly inte-

grated families and neighborhoods form a basis on which the larger corporate structure may be built but local factions, rivalries, and feuds have often made it difficult to get inter-village and inter-familial co-operation.

*The Role of the Catholic Church.* The prestige of the priests in the villages of New Mexico is very great. In Taos county, as will be indicated later, the priests were extremely helpful in organizing the people into the medical co-operative. Some villagers have joined protestant churches and, as elsewhere, at least one emotional sect, the Holiness Church, has some converts from among those who sought security after the process of acculturation had made its inroads. This latter sect was of little assistance in organizing the co-operative but the objective observer will have to admit that the presence of both the Presbyterian and Catholic hospitals in the county are of real assistance to the Health Association. Less progressive leadership in either a Catholic or a Protestant hospital is likely to be influenced by the example of the better work of the other organizations with which it must compete.

*The Other Co-operative Structures.* After the family and religious groupings, the local ditch associations in the villages of Taos are the most important organizational structures. Long before the New England villages in their town meetings were setting a prototype for American democracy New Mexican villagers were talking over the irrigation co-operatives of the Indians and through formal procedures as democratic as those in New England, were establishing America's oldest co-operatives, the ditch associations of the Southwest. These co-operatives are still directed by boards democratically elected and meetings are still conducted according to parliamentary procedure. It is obvious that people with this experience in managing such co-operative structures as their ditch associations and land grant boards which directed the management of common grazing lands will, other things being equal, have less difficulty in learning to operate a co-operative association than will, for example, the poorer

<sup>9</sup> Donovan Senter, *op. cit.*

TABLE I. CHARACTERIZATION OF SPANISH-AMERICANS BY CLASS, TAOS COUNTY, NEW MEXICO\*

	<i>Village Lower Class</i>	<i>Village Lower Middle Class</i>
ATTITUDE TOWARD ANGLOS	All Anglos are considered to be wealthy people who should be preyed upon since they do the same to the villagers.	Admire the Anglo and would like to resemble him. Usually resentfully sensitive about their cultural background, which they tend to glorify by speaking with reverence of the good old times."
ATTITUDE TOWARD TIME	Consider the present only.	They look forward to improving their status through financial advancement. To be an Anglo is, to them, to know how to earn money.
LANGUAGE	Spanish with very little knowledge of English.	Speak English, although most do not require it to be spoken in their homes.
ECONOMIC STATUS	Very poor. Small adobe huts and enough land for a garden. Mostly day laborers and farm hands. WPA work was accepted.	Fairly good. Men have jobs in Anglo business concerns or own farms on which the FSA has given aid. Control local political jobs and distributed WPA money.
EDUCATION	The older folks are illiterate and many of the children drop out of school at about the third grade level.	The older people are illiterate or have a poor education but most of them took what was locally available during their youth.
RELIGION	Penitente society, rites, etc. frequently more important than the Catholic church organization.	Catholic or Protestant. They usually consider the Penitentes to be of lower class. Most of the people regularly attend Mass but avoid Penitente ceremonies.
SOCIAL SYSTEM	More like that of the Pre-Anglo era in the operation of ceremonies of family and kinship, especially during crises.	Kinship system of extended family dominates. To be like Anglos some families try to hold apart from the rest of the village. They adopt Anglo customs such as showers for the bride in place of the old family engagement party of Spanish culture.
PHYSICAL CHARACTER- ISTICS	Dark skin common, cleanliness varies. Cheap clothes worn; are rarely cared for.	Slightly lighter in complexion than most of the villagers probably having less Indian blood. They take good care of their clothes and, in a limited way, try to copy prevalent Anglo styles. By having more money and education about health they buy better diets and having more confidence in the Anglo medical system they manifest less malnutrition than lower classes.

\* Adapted from Senter. To this table may be added the following: Typical suburban lower class (middle class in the village): (1) Individual usually carries a chip on his shoulder when dealing with Anglos. Thinks they are snobbish, rich and to be fleeced. (2) Live in present; plan for immediate future only. (3) Most oldsters illiterate. Children go to 6th or 8th grades and a few start high school. (4) Male head may not be Penitente. Penitente and church functional in daily family life. (5) Spanish life pattern dominates, especially in crises—erratically acculturated toward Anglo customs; (6) Only Spanish spoken at home. (7) Poor, unskilled hand laborer. Adobe homes with Anglo-type furniture, etc. (8) Clothes cheap, poorly cared for. Darker but shades of color not thought to be important.

people of the South, who have had a minimum of such experience. However, as previously stated, the Spanish-American social structure cannot be characterized as indi-

vidualistic. On the contrary, the people have been characterized as possessing "a certain submissiveness resulting in a willingness to permit, without question, both church and



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TABLE I (Continued). CLASS STRUCTURE OF SPANISH-AMERICANS

	<i>Upper Middle Class of Towns and Upper Class of Villages</i>	<i>Upper Class (All New Mexico)</i>
ATTITUDE TOWARD ANGLOS	Completely oriented to Anglo ways. They are the key men used by Anglos attempting programs to aid the village population. Anglos fail to realize that many persons of this class distrust and disdain the lower classes.	Consider themselves above most Anglos. They have friends among the upper classes in Mexico and the United States.
ATTITUDE TOWARD TIME	They live for the future but think most of economic and political advancement. They like to consider themselves as part of the Anglo culture but want to retain the colorful old trappings of the Spanish.	Glorify the past but are fighting to hold their position in the present.
LANGUAGE	English predominates but people speak both languages by necessity in their contacts with the two peoples.	English is more used than Spanish but they feel it necessary to know Spanish because of pride in background.
ECONOMIC STATUS	Most well-to-do Spanish Speaking people in New Mexico. Hold political, government, public utility positions, or are land owners. Houses are either very Anglo or copies of Anglo attempts at Spanish-Pueblo architecture.	Some are wealthy, some moderately so. Homes are careful replicas of old Spanish or upper class Anglo homes.
EDUCATION	Fairly well educated with high school or college for younger people. Do not deny Spanish background but emphasize their having risen above it. In a sophisticated way they consider themselves authorities on Spanish language and customs. May be collectors.	Some of the girls and most of the men attend college. Many attend outside the State avoiding local prejudice. Some become specialists in subjects relating to their own people.
RELIGION	Catholic or Protestant. To mesh better with Anglos, some change from Catholic to Protestant. Villagers who become state leaders associate with the Church and may be town members of church organization such as Knights of Columbus.	Usually Catholic.
SOCIAL SYSTEM	Except for political expediency hold apart from lower class villagers. Younger people, especially, have accepted Anglo ideas. Cling to Spanish when it appears sophisticated to do so. Really hold too many Spanish customs to be secure in their Anglo orientation.	Highly sensitive to kinship relations in other upper class families. Relatives in lower classes employed in political position leading to accusation of nepotism.
PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS	Healthy with adequate nutrition, medical care, and treatment. Their clothes are good and their grooming careful.	Essentially like Anglos in physical type and dress. Leadership for centuries in New Mexico preserves refinement and sophistication of their ancestors.

lay dignitaries to determine individual action."<sup>10</sup> Because the villagers in Northern

New Mexico are for the most part land owners and because they have lived among Anglos for several centuries and have been relatively isolated from the Spanish cultural stream, they are among the most independent Latin Americans.

<sup>10</sup> Charles P. Loomis, "Agricultural Extension for Latin America," forthcoming symposium, *Extension Work Around the World*. Columbia University Press. See also Loomis and Grisham, *op. cit.*

THE PROBLEM THE HEALTH ASSOCIATION  
HAS TO MEET

Taos county has the highest infant mortality rate of any county in the nation and before the organization of the association very few village mothers ever went to hospitals before delivery. Most deliveries occurred without the aid of a professional doctor.<sup>11</sup> As previously indicated, the great mass of the lower class people have poor diets and rely upon patent medicines and witchdoctors when illness occurs—facts which explain why two-thirds of the deaths reported in Taos county were due to unknown causes. An investigator in the field of human nutrition found diets were so poor in one of the villages that the activities of the children walking to school and playing at recess created such a tissue deficiency of oxygen that the remainder of the day was required to make it up.<sup>12</sup> The same investigator found that whole villages were sometimes so infested with intestinal parasites that school lunches had no effect on physical performance until a village-wide parasite elimination campaign was conducted. These facts were sufficient to demonstrate the necessity for developing a mechanism through which available health and medical facilities could be effectively spread to those who most needed them. At the present time an energetic environmental sanitation program is being launched in the county by FSA. Various other programs are aimed at improving diets and the economic level of the people.

"The Taos County Co-operative Health Association is a spontaneous creation of the people and doctors of Taos county. It was a natural development out of a small FSA-sponsored trustee plan of medical and dental care for FSA borrowers which had been in

operation since April 1, 1940. The people of the county became conscious of their lack of medical care, and their community representatives, with the help of the Taos County Project<sup>13</sup> (a branch of the University of New Mexico under the directorship of Dr. J. T. Reid) formed an unincorporated association in 1941. About 800 families applied for membership and several agencies and foundations were solicited for financial assistance, including the Farm Security Administration.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently the FSA investigated the enterprise, and after the Association was incorporated, June 23, 1942, a grant of \$47,000 was made to it. . . . The Taos County Medical Society on August 16, 1942, adopted an all-embracing 'Taos County Health Plan,' formulating the basic pattern of providing medical and dental care through the Association. . . . Thereafter, the Association accepted 1,170 members from about 1,800 applicants, this membership comprising 5,935 persons or about one-third of the county population. Actual operations began on October 1, 1942."

The membership is represented by a board of seven directors elected at the annual membership meetings of the Association. The Board of Directors, in turn, employs a treasurer-manager and his administrative staff for the execution of its policies. Since these policies, plans for service, articles of incorporation, by-laws, administrative regulations and other documents are similar to those of other comparable co-operatives they are not repeated here.<sup>15</sup> In the past members have borne about 15 percent of the total cost of operating the Association. Costs per family for medical, dental and hospital services have amounted to about \$40. Membership charges were in proportion to the cash income and calculated on a sliding scale

<sup>11</sup> The infant mortality rate of 108 per 1,000 live births, traceable mainly to diarrhea and enteritis, is reported. See the January 18, 1944, report of James Valentine, Treasurer-Manager, Taos County Cooperative Health Association, Taos, N.M.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Pijoan, "Food Availability and Social Function," *New Mexico Quarterly Review*, Vol. XII, No. 4, November, 1942.

<sup>13</sup> Charles P. Loomis, "The Taos County Project of New Mexico—An Experiment in Local Cooperation Among Bureaus, Private Agencies and Rural People," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. 3, No. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Report to the Regional Director of FSA and the Board of Directors of the Taos County Co-operative Health Association, dated January 15, 1944. Mimeographed.

<sup>15</sup> James Valentine, *ibid.*

so that the more well-to-do members paid relatively more for their services but no family paid more than the average cost per family. At first only families with cash incomes under \$1,200 were admitted but now those with incomes under \$1,800 are eligible for membership.

During the present year officials are hoping that membership will increase from 1,125 to 2,000. As in the past they will be served under contractual arrangements with the three hospitals of the area, the three druggists in Taos, one full-time medical director, one part-time staff physician, one full-time clinic dentist, one part-time referral dentist, a supervisory nurse, three full-time registered nurses, and two interne-externes from Mexico. The physical assets of the Association now comprise three health centers, located at Questa, Taos and Peñasco, three ambulances, and the necessary medical and dental equipment. The Association has been successful in attaining a certain amount of co-ordination of effort on the part of various governmental and other agencies.

*People Brought into the Program Through the Taos County Project and the Association.* It would indeed be wrong to assume that the mass of villagers wanted to join the Association or that the members of the lower classes want to use all the facilities now. The organization of the Association would have been impossible had the Taos County Project not existed.<sup>16</sup>

*How the Taos County Project Assisted in the Development of the Taos County Co-operative Health Association.* When the Taos County Project got under way rumors swept the county that there would be funds for extending medical services to the people. This prospect and the probability that the FSA would withdraw its support of medical services to clients since the number had fallen from 248 to 140 was discussed by the members of the Taos County Medical As-

sociation. The doctors approached James Valentine, a local public accountant, who had worked in a medical branch of the War Department after the last war, asking him to investigate the possibility of getting the Taos County Project to carry on a larger health program. This was done and the Taos County Project Director, J. T. Reid, appointed a committee led by James Valentine, who was later to become treasurer-manager of the Association, to study various existing plans and report back to the Project staff. This was done and, as stated above, FSA support for the Association was finally made available. However, before this was done the Project, to demonstrate the need for the Association, used its organization to get the people to apply for membership. The Project's key leaders and other local people, especially the priests, assisted in this sign-up campaign.

The best description of the campaign is contained in the report of the Treasurer-Manager, who deserves more credit than any of the other Taoseños for establishing the Association, having worked night and day without pay to that end. This report is dated October 19, 1942:

"At first all efforts at a membership drive were discouraging. So many people were working outside the county, . . . there was some doubt as to the validity of the program, there were antagonistic rumors, and time was short. Beginning August 15 we conducted meetings throughout the county night and day. Two circular letters were sent out. Signs were posted, literature was sent to the teachers of the county. Local communities were organized here and there. Most effective of all, we canvassed house to house. Finally real help came from individuals in the communities. . . . Among these are our directors, postmasters, teachers, and priests. The drive for members showed a real spurt when association doctors and nurses actually began giving medical service. At last the people saw action instead of words."

When meetings were held every effort was made to arrange that they be presided over by local leaders. This gave the professional

<sup>16</sup> Personal interview with James Valentine, Treasurer-Manager of the Association and other agency representatives in Taos. For a description of the Taos County Project see C. P. Loomis and J. T. Reid, *op. cit.*



staff and organizers a chance to talk to the chair from the floor. Whenever possible discussion was encouraged to offset the monotony of speeches. Often the Taos County Project used its bookmobile and movie equipment to furnish the attraction for meetings and some films were useful in the program for health education. The key leaders mentioned above as officers in the Taos County Project, as well as other local leaders, worked incessantly to collect funds. The influence of the local priests who supported the association almost from the beginning should not be underestimated. After a single church mass the organizer, Montoya, collected 70 memberships. The doctors also talked up the association among their patients.

#### EVALUATION OF RESULTS

*The Lack of an Adequate Basis for Planning.* At present the membership of the Association pays for about 15 percent of the services they are receiving. As they learn the advantages of the health program they will gradually assume more of the responsibilities in determination of policy and pay larger membership fees. For the more economical operation of the Association the membership should have included at least 2,000 families and as more doctors and nurses are available the Association must be enlarged. To do this an adequate plan designed to convince the people of Taos County, including the present membership of the Association, that better dental, medical and hospital facilities are needed, must be launched.

As in the past the medical staff and the management of the Association have not had sufficient orientation concerning the social structure and values of the people with whom they work to plan such a program. In recent years more cultural anthropological studies have been started in Taos county than any other county in the nation of which the author has knowledge. Nevertheless, the present medical staff and the management has insufficient information concerning the acute problems of acculturation

and the prevalence of witchcraft and primitive medical practices in the county. Often folk practices could be used by doctors in explaining why a patient receives a given treatment or type of medicine. It will be much easier to dispell current beliefs in witches and witchdoctors if all medical doctors understand these beliefs and systematically undermine them by effective substitutions than if the present practice of condemning all non-professional practice by broadsides is used.

*The Plan for the Original Organization Drive.* As noted above no adequate plan was developed for an educational program to accomplish the two most important objectives: (1) selling the Health Association to the villagers, and (2) getting members to use the facilities of the Association. Although the doctors and leaders of the project were conscious of the primitive medical practices of the people, the problem of acculturation, its relation to the class structure and its particular implication for professionals, such as doctors, was not understood. For instance, one of the doctors who helped advertise the Association before it was organized (he is not now in Taos county) while under the influence of liquor in one of the community saloons shouted something to the effect that the trouble with Taos county was that there were too many "dirty greasers" there. He was hit and knocked out by a local Spanish-American. This incident was much talked of and other cases of doctors complaining about the "dirty" natives were recorded. This behavior is typical of similar situations everywhere, but the point is that an analysis of the class structure of the communities and the important tensions would have assisted the local doctors to smooth over many difficulties. A knowledge of the local culture was not at hand when the project was started. If other projects are launched in the area, an educational program and membership drive planned by people who know the local culture, particularly the social structure and prevailing beliefs in witches and curers, it will no doubt be more effective than that which preceded the drive in Taos county.



Attitudes toward medical treatment, like all attitudes associated with social status, are apt to carry emotional charges. These were not understood by many workers in Taos. To establish scientific medicine, the symbols of security of the lower classes may often be made use of. It is seldom good practice to make fun of them.

Now interne-externes from Mexico are being used with great success in the Association. Also a Puerto Rican nurse, under the close guidance of the supervisory nurse, has been satisfactory. However, turning the Association over to Spanish-speaking personnel is no adequate solution for the problems of acculturation mentioned above. This is not to deny the importance of getting doctors and nurses who understand the native language of the people, but no objective person can study the above description of the local class structure (Table 1) without realizing that sympathy on a high professional level for the people, not mere facility in language, is the ideal to be striven for.

*Local Leadership Was Utilized Effectively in Selling the Program.* Even though no elaborate plan was evolved for the work of organizing the Association, the utilization of local leadership and informal techniques in the promotion of the Taos County Project and the Association was almost a model. Leaders all the way from professionals, such as doctors and priests, to village storekeepers and witchdoctors were made use of. This same leadership must be employed to induce the people to make use of the Association.

*Local Agencies Must be Given More Responsibility in the Program.* The aim of the program is to lead the people to demand the services the Association has to offer and to make them willing to pay as much as they are able to pay for these services. This will permit federal agencies to withdraw considerable of their support. To accomplish this objective local and State agencies must be maneuvered into taking more responsibility

for the Association. Most important, the local people in the town of Taos and the villages must take more responsibility in policy formation. A Board of Directors composed of local people is not sufficient to accomplish this. Too often the Board members will occupy positions in the class structure which although making them available to the Anglos may by the same token mean that they are distrusted by the Spanish-speaking villagers of the lower classes whom the program is really designed to serve. If the Association is to become the villagers' Association they must integrate it into their everyday life as they have their Ditch Associations. To date, the Association is something "sold" to the people. They are only beginning to "own" it and they do not make the greatest possible use of it.

*In the Organization of the Association People Were Brought Together in a Familiar Environment Where They Already Knew One Another.* Informal procedures were used to interest the people. At meetings the people were encouraged to conduct their own discussions and ask questions. Now the supervisory nurse with training in Social Psychology, Sociology and Psychiatry is attempting to get the doctors and nurses to understand the necessity for making their practice more acceptable to the people. When possible patients who are timid are permitted to bring parents with them to hospitals. Effort is made to make them feel at home by allowing symbols of sacredness and friends to be near them. In the "well baby and prenatal clinic" intimacy and privacy are striven for. Arrangements are by appointment and care is taken not to embarrass hesitant patients whose cultural background makes it unc customary to discuss these problems with strangers. These procedures, coupled with the use which has been made of local leaders, will assist in accomplishing the objectives of the program. In addition, they will be useful elsewhere.

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## THE ROLE OF INFORMAL ACTIVITIES IN COMMUNITY LIFE

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EVERY community is a woven network of human relations composed of two fundamental parts: *the warp* of rigid and formal participation, and *the woof* of informal activities.

The latter have been curiously neglected in most community studies; yet, the significant part they play in everyday affairs must not be overlooked if one wants to learn, see and feel the real life of a community.

This is illustrated in a recent study of a small-town-centered community in southwestern Virginia where an attempt is made to list and describe by examples the wide array of informal activities usually found in rural communities of the type under consideration.<sup>1</sup> It is shown that when the activities are merely listed alphabetically, they include dozens of big and little doings such as: Attending auctions, carnivals, commencements, county-supervisor meetings, court sessions, debates, fairs, family reunions, funerals, movies, political rallies, revivals and weddings—Baking, borrowing, bootlegging, and buying—Camping, canning, coasting, congregating, cooking, courting, cultivating, and cussing—Darning, dancing, and dipping snuff, doing chores, dreaming and drinking—Electioneering and exaggerating—Fencing fields, feeding livestock, fiddling and fishing—Gambling, gardening, gathering herbs and nuts, going to mill, going to town, gossiping, greeting, and grave digging—Harvesting, hiking and hunting—Imbibing and imitating—Jesting and joking—Kidding and knitting—Laughing, lending and loafing—Making apple butter, cider, molasses, sausage and soap, marketing, migrating, milking and moonshining—Naming children,

cows and horses, neighboring, and nursing—Odd-jobbing, opinionating and ordering—Quarreling, quilting, quoting and quizzing—Radioing, reading, reporting news, and running errands—Salting cattle, shearing sheep, shucking corn, singing songs, sitting on front porches, and sitting up with the sick and the dead—Tale telling, trapping and trucking—Vending, visiting and voting—Walking, weeding pastures, and weighing livestock.

Some interesting inferences are entwined in this array of topics, and the descriptions and examples which follow them. It is apparent that most informal activities involve directly or indirectly two or more persons, and therefore constitute group situations and collective behavior of an informal nature. This behavior is of two kinds: one which operates within classes and castes; and another which cuts across class structure and transcends class barriers. What makes informal activities so important in community life is the fact that they not only operate within the layers of society, but cut across and connect the tough strands in the fabric of human relations, bring a feeling of fellowship, permit joint action, and encourage enthusiasm for things of mutual interest.

To see this cross thread in the ties which bind various members and classes of a specific community, one only needs to cite a few examples:

Loafing is for some their occupation; for others the next thing to it. Certain persons make such regular trips to town that their goings and comings can be used to tell the time of day. Once down town these persons form little human clusters on the streets, in the stores, on the courthouse steps and lawn, at the post office, and elsewhere. Gradually and spontaneously formed, they gradually and slowly dissolve, and their size is constantly changing. These changes may be charged to countrymen and returning visitors,

<sup>1</sup> See "Lebanon: A Virginia Community," by Leland B. Tate, published as *Bulletin 352* of the Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station, Blacksburg, Virginia, May, 1943.

as well as to veteran townfolk. The number and size of human clusters increase on Saturdays and court days, and at other times when there are special occasions or lulls in farming operations. Informally, people of all local classes and colors mix and mingle rather freely in town, at country stores, and at many public gatherings.<sup>2</sup>

Local travel brings about many informal groupings. Pairs of townswomen often walk to reduce; others in order to gain; and all have repeated gatherings with friends and neighbors en route. Some poor whites may walk to town because they have no other mode of travel. If they are father, mother and child, they may walk in single file with the father in front—an apparent survival of a frontier folkway based on a need for this type of fatherly protection. More often, however, poor whites ride with someone who has an auto or truck, and therefore become parts of groups on wheels. Owners of buses who have formal contracts for carrying school children sometimes make informal arrangements for taking country folks to Saturday movies and Sunday church services. Some local families have so many kinsmen nearby that they can take a trip of half a day and visit half a dozen closely related families.<sup>3</sup>

Fishing is oft repeated pleasure for both Negroes and whites, and local newspaper news since 1900. Rev. Ponder, Negro Baptist preacher, is present leader. One recent trip to Cedar Creek included the white Methodist minister and others whose luck could not be compared with Parson Ponder's. They threatened to cut competition and push him in the creek, but decided that was no punishment for a deep-water man. He threatened a reprisal, but was afraid of drowning a dew-drop Methodist.<sup>4</sup>

Vending of food products is done to the mutual benefit of both venders and local buyers. The goods involved include such things as milk, butter, cottage cheese, pork, eggs, chickens, vegetables, apples, honey, and wild berries. Some of the venders are town residents with extra supplies of milk from family cows kept in barns and pasture lots just beyond the back alleys. Others are countrymen who walk or ride to town and sell to regular customers or hawk their wares from door to door. One of the most colorful characters among the venders of former years was Uncle Creed Barton of Copper Ridge who rode into town on a big gray horse and

passed from house to house yelling, "Apples if you want 'em, and apples if you don't want 'em."<sup>5</sup>

In addition to these examples, there are many mutual-aid practices of a non-contractual character whereby neighbors assist neighbors without any specific contractual agreement, but with the general understanding that favors will be given in return, and that the process will be repeated from time to time. Most families in Virginia's rural communities are the beneficiaries of informal mutual-aid practices at frequent intervals, but they may go for rather long periods of time without participating in formally organized affairs. Hence, the informal activities are more frequent and more numerous for the average family.

If it is true that "the more frequent the contacts, the closer the social bond," it also must be true that informal activities play a much bigger part in welding people together in community relationships than is generally supposed. They do not accomplish this through formality in the sense of formal organization, but rather through patterns of informality which become crystallized into custom and thereby exert a tremendous influence on both group and individual behavior.

In view of this fact, it seems apparent that informal activities may do much to give flavor and meaning to the formal ones, and that a full understanding of formal functions can not be had by merely studying formal functions. One may well question to what extent a knowledge of formal functions gives insight into the character of a community.

To summarize briefly what has been said, at least five points should be emphasized:

1. In the everyday life of a community informal activities are more numerous and more frequent than the formal ones.

2. By reason of their number and frequency within classes of similar characteristics, they are of paramount importance in developing a feeling of fellowship and creating social bonds.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.



3. They not only operate within groups of similar characteristics, but cut across and connect the tough strands in the fabric of community life, permit joint action, and encourage enthusiasm for things of mutual interest.

4. As patterns of informality become

crystallized into custom, they exert a tremendous influence on both group and individual behavior.

5. Patterns of informality tend to weaken or strengthen formal community life and thereby to determine the real character of a community.

## WARTIME DEVELOPMENTS IN CENSUS STATISTICS

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THE BITTER thesis that war is a stimulant to progress will perhaps, as a result of World War II, be as well illustrated in the field of social and economic statistics as in the field of technology and the physical sciences. The hard and real requirements of the war threw into relief for all to see the shortcomings, deficiencies, and gaps in the social and economic facts available for mobilizing the human and material resources of the nation for total war. In consequence, the statistical programs of many of the permanent Federal agencies were greatly expanded and new statistical programs were developed in the various war agencies to meet urgent wartime requirements.

Illustrative of the increased importance of social and economic statistics as a tool in war and, also, of the increased resources available to social science as a result of the war is the growth and development of the statistical program of the Bureau of the Census. Within the framework of the activities of the Bureau of the Census, the developments in demographic and labor force statistics, and certain methodological advances, hold perhaps the greatest interest for the sociologist; although Census developments in other fields such as agriculture, government, industry, business, and foreign trade statistics are by no means unimportant.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Continuation of projects of the Sixteenth Decennial Census and other continuing programs of the

*General population.* At probably no time in the history of the nation has the demand been more urgent and widespread for figures relating both to total population and to the characteristics of the population. The creation of the war agencies as well as the increased needs of the permanent agencies of government and of business and industry gave rise to a large series of requests for current population information. Such information was needed for dealing with problems in the government relating to manpower for the armed services and for production; to the production and rationing of civilian goods; to wartime migration, housing, transportation, public utilities and other services; and for problems in private business relating to wartime changes in production, distribution, labor supply, and markets.

At the outset of the war the results of the Sixteenth Decennial Census contributed materially to meeting these various needs. As a result of the large population shifts, however, occasioned by war production requirements, the 1940 Census statistics were soon out of date. Improved methods were developed during the 30's for estimating the total population of local areas, but these methods were quite inadequate to the task of preparing local estimates under wartime

Bureau of the Census are not described in this paper. For a complete list of recent publications of the Bureau of the Census, see *Census Bureau Publications*. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, October 15, 1944.



conditions.<sup>2</sup> Although it was possible with considerable accuracy to estimate the total population of the nation and its age, sex, and color composition,<sup>3</sup> it was not possible to estimate the population of various subdivisions of the nation until after the first registration for war ration books had taken place, in May, 1942. Experimental work with the registration figures resulting from the registration of the population for War Ration Books One, Two, and Four<sup>4</sup> indicated that reasonably good population estimates could be prepared through the use of these data for the counties and States. This made possible the publication of population figures for "metropolitan counties"<sup>5</sup> even though estimates could not be prepared for the large cities except in those few instances when city boundaries coincided with county lines. The population estimates based on these wartime registrations for rationing have been widely used.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "Population Estimates in Postcensal Years," *The Annals of the American Academy*, November, 1936; and "Methods of Estimating Postcensal Populations," *American Journal of Public Health*, September, 1938; Hope T. Eldridge, "Problems and Methods of Estimating Postcensal Population" presented at joint regional meeting of American Statistical Association and Institute of Mathematical Statistics, May 7, 1944, and to be published in *Social Forces*, May, 1945.

<sup>3</sup> See Census Bureau releases, Series P-44, No. 21, "Estimated Population of the United States, for Selected Dates: July 1, 1940, to July 1, 1944" and Series P-45, No. 1, "Estimated Population of the United States, by Age, Color, and Sex: 1944 and 1943."

<sup>4</sup> Registration for War Ration Book Three did not provide data suitable for population estimates.

<sup>5</sup> Metropolitan counties included all counties half or more of whose population fell into the metropolitan districts as defined in the 1940 Census of Population.

<sup>6</sup> See Census Bureau releases, Series P-3, No. 33, "Estimates of the Civilian Population, by Counties: May 1, 1942"; No. 38, "Estimates of the Civilian Population of the United States, by Counties: March 1, 1943"; No. 39, "Change in Civilian Population of the United States, by Counties: 1942 to 1943"; No. 40, "Estimated Civilian Population of Metropolitan Counties, by Single Counties: March 1, 1943, and May 1, 1942"; and Series P-44, No. 3, "Estimated Civilian Population of the United States, by Counties: November 1, 1943"; No. 4, "Map

Not only were estimates made of the total population of local areas but, through the use of the age and sex information contained in a sample of the applications for war ration books, estimates were made of the age and sex composition of some 39 metropolitan areas.<sup>7</sup> These estimates were of considerable value in indicating the character of at least some aspects of wartime migration.

Although the results of these registrations definitely showed that registration procedures provided good bases for current population data, it is hardly likely that the experience gained therefrom will contribute much to the preparation of population estimates under normal peacetime conditions. Of considerably greater long-run importance were the developments incident to providing estimates of total population and population characteristics through sample censuses conducted in the "congested production areas." These were the areas in which war production facilities were heavily concentrated, which had experienced heavy in-migration, and which were afflicted with severe problems of congestion. In order to provide the President's Committee for Congested Production Areas with information needed for defining and dealing with problems of congestion in these areas, sample censuses were conducted. The development of sampling methods, which was given great impetus by the requirements of the war, as more fully described below, made possible the design and conduct within a 6-month period of sample censuses in 10 areas containing a total population of nearly 12 million.<sup>8</sup> The results of these sample

Showing Changes in Civilian Population of the United States, by Counties: April 1, 1940, to November 1, 1943"; and No. 17 (by Hope T. Eldridge), "Interstate Migration and Other Population Changes: 1940 to 1943."

<sup>7</sup> See Census Bureau release, Series P-44, No. 15, "Estimated Civilian Population by Age and Sex, for Selected Areas: November 1, 1943."

<sup>8</sup> The 10 areas were Charleston, South Carolina; Detroit-Willow Run, Michigan; Hampton Roads, Virginia; Los Angeles, California; Mobile, Alabama; Muskegon, Michigan; Portland-Vancouver, Oregon-Washington; Puget Sound, Washington; San Diego, California; and San Francisco, California. The survey for Muskegon was on a complete census basis.

censuses were made available in four series of releases<sup>9</sup> issued between April and August, 1944, containing figures relating to total population; age, sex, and color; the volume of in-migration and characteristics of in-migrants; family characteristics; the labor force and its characteristics; and housing.

It is not without significance that, for the first time in the history of the Census, the Director of the Census on the basis of sample surveys issued certificates giving the total population, within the limits of sampling error, for each of these areas. It is of even greater significance, however, that sample techniques were developed during this period to a point which made it possible, with relatively little expenditure and within a short time period, to prepare total population estimates, with a coefficient of variation of only one percent. The sample censuses of the congested production areas may without question be regarded as a landmark in the history of statistics, with important implications for the development of future census programs.

Another important type of population estimate developed during the war is that relating to farm population, based on the

monthly sample operation described below (that for the Monthly Report on the Labor Force). This survey makes possible on a scientific sampling basis estimates of the farm population on a recurrent basis, and has resulted in the publication of the first of a series of releases which will be prepared co-operatively with the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.<sup>10</sup>

*Internal migration.* The availability of estimates of the total population of the States, the counties, and other selected areas made possible the preparation of estimates on internal migration.<sup>11</sup> In the light of the importance of internal population movements and their manifold implications for programs of the Federal, State, and local governments, as well as for business and industry concerned with shifting markets, there is increasing need for current statistics on the volume of migration and the characteristics of migrants. Through current sampling operations now in process, it is planned in the near future to make available limited statistics relating to internal population movements on a recurrent quarterly basis, and more detailed data on an annual basis. The former will include data on at least the volume of internal migration and the characteristics of migrants; the latter, more detailed statistics on not only the volume but also the direction of migration for at least the broad regions of the nation. Thus, although the data on internal migration made available during the war are relatively meager they represent an important beginning of improved data which may become a continuing statistical series.

<sup>10</sup> See Census-BAE Series, No. 1, "Estimates of Farm Population and Farm Households: April, 1944, and April, 1940." See also forthcoming Census Bureau release on the estimated distribution of the population by farm residence for April, 1944.

<sup>11</sup> See Bureau of the Census release, Series P-44, No. 17, "Interstate Migration and Other Population Changes: 1940 to 1943" (by Hope T. Eldridge); also Henry S. Shryock, "Internal Migration and the War," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, March, 1943; for migration between 1935 and 1940, see Bureau of the Census report "Internal Migration, 1935 to 1940" and Series P-44, No. 10, "Internal Migration in the United States, 1935 to 1940."

<sup>9</sup> See Census Bureau releases, Series CA, "Preliminary Estimates of Population of the Congested Production Areas," Nos. 1-10; Series CA-1, "Final Population Figures for the Congested Production Areas and Constituent Parts," Nos. 1-11; Series CA-2, "Wartime Changes in Population and Family Characteristics of the Congested Production Areas," Nos. 1-10; Series CA-3, "Characteristics of the Population, Labor Force, Families, and Housing for the Congested Production Areas," Nos. 1-10; and one special release issued for the Muskegon area, CA-4, No. 1; see also, Howard G. Brunsmann, "The Sample Census of Congested Production Areas," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, September, 1944; John Webb, "Observations on the Sample Censuses in Ten Congested Production Areas," *Committee for Congested Production Areas*, December, 1944; and *Final Report of the President's Committee for Congested Production Areas*, December, 1944. Of additional interest are the following papers not yet published but presented at the regional meeting of the Population Association of America, November 10-11, 1944, Washington, D.C.: "Migrants in Congested Production Areas" by Hope T. Eldridge, and "The Labor Force in Congested Production Areas" by E. D. Goldfield.

*Labor force.* Among the more important and far reaching recent developments in the Bureau of the Census was the transfer in August, 1942, from the Works Progress Administration, of the sample operation producing the Monthly Report on the Labor Force. This operation, which at the present time involves the enumeration each month of a cross-section of approximately 30,000 families representative of the population of the United States, has as its central purpose the production of current statistics relating to the labor force; the number, the work status, and the characteristics of the nation's current and potential labor supply. This survey is the only current source from which it is possible to obtain over-all national statistics on employment and unemployment, non-agricultural and agricultural employment, and the personal characteristics of the population in and out of the labor force. Its basic results are made available monthly,<sup>12</sup> and, in addition, results of special tabulations and analyses are made available from time to time.<sup>13</sup>

This sample operation has benefited greatly from the general development of the sampling technique within the Bureau (see below). Since, in effect, it constitutes a small sample census of the population of the United States each month, it has great potentialities for providing general population information in addition to labor force statistics.

*Family and marriage statistics.* Three important developments have occurred with respect to family and marriage statistics which

may be expected to continue into the postwar period. The first is the study resulting in projections, under varying assumptions, of the number of families in the United States up to 1960. Wartime pressures and anticipated postwar needs led to many demands for statistics relating to families on a current basis and in projection. The release on this subject<sup>14</sup> may well represent the beginning of a program of current estimates on at least the number of families in the United States and, within reasonable limits, of short-run projections on the number of families as a base point for other types of estimates.

The second is the publication of postcensal statistics on marital status and on marriages. The former is based on the sample survey resulting from the Monthly Report on the Labor Force;<sup>15</sup> the latter on a current series giving the number of marriage licenses issued in selected areas. During 1944 there was transferred to the Bureau of the Census from the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration an inquiry resulting in monthly responses from selected areas on the number of marriage licenses issued. Although the areas are by no means complete or even representative, the statistics based on this inquiry make possible at least crude estimates of the marriage rate on a monthly basis for cities having 100,000 or more inhabitants and on an annual basis for the States and the United States.<sup>16</sup> Plans are under way for the development and strengthening of marriage and divorce statistics which, together with statistics relating to

<sup>12</sup> See Bureau of the Census release "Monthly Report on the Labor Force" issued monthly.

<sup>13</sup> See Bureau of Census release, "Labor Force Bulletin," Nos. 1-5; and Mary Elizabeth Pidgeon, "Changes in Women's Employment During the War," *Special Bulletin 20*. Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor; Gladys L. Palmer (assisted by Ann Ratner), "The Philadelphia Labor Market in 1944," Research Report No. 8, November, 1944, Industrial Research Department, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania in cooperation with the U. S. Bureau of the Census; Leonard Eskin, "Sources of Wartime Labor Supply in the United States," *Monthly Labor Review*, August, 1944.

<sup>14</sup> See Bureau of the Census release, Series P-1943, No. 2, "Estimated Number of Families in the United States: 1940 to 1960" (by Paul C. Glick).

<sup>15</sup> See Bureau of the Census release, Series P-S, No. 1, "Marital Status of the Civilian Population: February, 1944."

<sup>16</sup> See Bureau of the Census releases, Series PM-1, No. 1, "Marriages in the United States: 1914 to 1943," No. 2, "Number of Marriages, by States: 1937 to 1943," No. 3, "Wartime Marriage Surplus"; and Series PM-2: Reports on Marriage Licenses Issued for Cities of 100,000 or More (these reports issued currently by month giving comparative figures for the same month of the preceding year, beginning with January, 1944).



families<sup>17</sup> and marital status may go a long way toward filling the need for current data on families, marriage, and divorce.

*Vital statistics.* Wartime needs have greatly increased the demand for birth and death statistics, particularly in connection with the use of these data for the planning of the production and rationing of certain civilian commodities and as indicators of civilian health. Two developments of particular importance in the field of vital statistics are worthy of special mention.

The first is the initiation and development of the Current Mortality Analysis.<sup>18</sup> This is a monthly report based on returns from a 10 percent sample of death certificates showing deaths, by cause of death, on a current basis. The mortality analysis is designed to detect epidemic tendencies and serves as a general index of health in the United States under war conditions. It represents an important application of sampling technique which makes possible statistics in a field in which current national statistics are not otherwise available. Furthermore, the relatively small number of cases in the sample will permit experimental cross-tabulations for research purposes which on a complete basis would be prohibitively expensive and time consuming.

The second major development relates more directly to vital records than to vital statistics, although it will undoubtedly have important statistical significance in the long run. Wartime pressures which greatly increased the need for certifications of birth, citizenship, and marriage placed an unprecedented strain on local vital records offices throughout the nation. Although much had been accomplished since the turn of the century through the co-operation of State and local vital records offices with the Bureau of the Census in the development of uniform vital records, the vital records system of the nation was not prepared for the strains im-

posed by wartime conditions. In consequence, the public has not been served as efficiently and as expeditiously as might have been the case, and vital statistics as well as vital records were considerably impaired during the war. The problems created by the load placed on local vital records offices have been increasingly recognized as is manifested by the studies of the Commission on Vital Records of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, and by the deliberations of the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers and of the American Association of Registration Executives. The Bureau of the Census, in an attempt to assist in the solution of this problem, has prepared a plan for a coordinated vital records system for the consideration of State and local officials, and at the request of the American Association of Registration Executives has created the Council on Vital Records and Vital Statistics to deal with the problem. Out of the deliberations and actions of this body it may be expected that plans and implementation will emerge which will strengthen the vital records system of the nation and will contribute to the improvement of vital statistics.<sup>19</sup>

*Special surveys.* The same staff which is used to conduct the Monthly Report on the Labor Force is available to other government agencies, on a reimbursable basis, for special surveys. A number of such surveys have been conducted to meet various needs of war agencies. Some of the more important surveys of this character include the Wartime Food Diary and related studies conducted for the Office of Price Administration; Consumer Requirements Studies and studies based on samples of retail establishments conducted for the Office of Civilian Requirements of the War Production Board; and housing, occupancy and vacancy surveys conducted for the National Housing Agency. Although these studies have been designed mainly for the purpose of collecting factual data, they have

<sup>17</sup> A release giving estimates of families for May, 1944, based on the monthly sample survey will appear shortly as the first of such a series of releases.

<sup>18</sup> See Bureau of the Census release "Current Mortality Analysis" issued for each month since November, 1942.

<sup>19</sup> See "Plan for the Coordination of Vital Records and Vital Statistics" available through Dr. Halbert L. Dunn, Secretary-Treasurer of the Council on Vital Records and Vital Statistics, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.



also included questions designed to measure public opinion with respect to specific phases of government program.

In general, the special surveys are conducted by means of the same type of sample design as that used for the Monthly Report on the Labor Force. In conducting these surveys the Bureau of the Census has made available to other Federal agencies a relatively inexpensive, quick, and efficient means of obtaining urgently needed factual information. It is to be anticipated that this service will remain available in the postwar period and continue to be a source of important data for special study.

*Population and labor force program in prospect.* Continued wartime pressures as well as anticipated postwar needs have resulted in a coordinated and integrated plan for current population statistics which may have important research implications for sociologists. The plan, in its minimum details, would, in addition to the Decennial Census of Population and a possible quinquennial census, make provision for current population and labor force statistics on a monthly, quarterly, and annual basis. The monthly statistics are already being derived from the Monthly Report on the Labor Force which, as has been indicated, is in effect a monthly sample census of population designed to provide national figures. Under consideration by the Congress, at the time of this writing, is provision for an expansion of this survey, so that on a quarterly basis there would be provided similar information for the Census geographic divisions, about 30 of the largest metropolitan areas, and eventually all of the States. The monthly and quarterly surveys would make available in considerable detail current information not only about the labor force and its characteristics but also about the population in general.

The aforementioned monthly and quarterly samples would be too small, however, to permit the preparation of accurate total population estimates for the States and cities, a type of information greatly in demand particularly under wartime and anticipated postwar conditions. To meet this need, provision is made for an annual sample census of popu-

lation<sup>20</sup> which would provide total population estimates for the States, for cities having 100,000 or more inhabitants (and also for metropolitan areas), and for urban, rural-farm and rural-nonfarm population by States. Improved sample designs may also permit total population estimates for a number of cities having fewer than 100,000 inhabitants.

This proposed program would make available to the nation, on a current basis, not only the badly needed population information of the type indicated, but it would also permit the collection of other data, on a rotating and minimum cost basis, relating to housing, health, veterans, and similar subjects. Moreover, current population data will make possible the computation for local areas of various rates such as birth, death, marriage, and divorce rates which are not otherwise possible on a sound basis.

*International statistics.* Among the gaps in available statistics which became immediately apparent with the onset of the war was that relating to the statistics of foreign nations. Little has been done in the United States in the systematic collection, compilation, and analysis of foreign statistics, particularly in the general field of demography and the labor force. As a result of urgent demands from various government sources, important tasks were undertaken and completed in the compilation and analysis of the statistics of foreign countries. This has resulted in the re-establishment of a foreign statistics unit within the Bureau of the Census which, it is hoped, will become a center particularly for foreign demographic data in the Federal Government. Important developments have also occurred in programs of cooperation with foreign nations interested in census type statistics.

Particularly noteworthy is the development of a program for the promotion of more adequate vital statistics in the Western Hemisphere. This program, which is sponsored by the State Department, has two phases. The first is a consulting or advisory

<sup>20</sup> Philip M. Hauser, "Proposed Annual Sample Census of Population," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*. March, 1942.

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program implemented by the assignment of experts from the Bureau of the Census to the official agencies concerned with vital statistics in the Latin American Republics. These consultants act only in an advisory capacity, giving assistance in the development of demographic statistics within the country.

The second part of this promotional program consists of selecting and training, in the Bureau of the Census, technical interns from Latin America. These interns are trained under a fellowship program to carry on in their own countries the work initiated by the consultants.

The Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs has sponsored a related program in the Bureau. This is a project which involves the collection, compilation and publication of uniform tables of vital statistics together with analytical maps and charts for each Latin American Republic. These publications<sup>21</sup> provide the common basic data from which further specialized investigations may be planned.

*Agricultural statistics.* The 1945 Census of Agriculture, which is currently under way, will provide information relating not only to farms, crops, and livestock, but also to farm population. The basic schedule, although different in form, is on the whole, similar to that previously used in quinquennial censuses of agriculture. An important innovation in the 1945 Census of Agriculture is the use of the "master sample for rural areas" (see below) in conjunction with the census to extend the type of information made available without material increase in expense or burden upon respondents. Supplemental questions are being asked of a sample of approximately one in eighteen farm households which, besides providing additional information on agricultural production items, will provide detailed data on farm population, farm labor, and farm facilities.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census and Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. *Summaries of Biostatistics*, for each Latin American Republic.

<sup>22</sup> See "Farm and Ranch Schedule with Supplemental Schedule for E. D. Segments and Specified Large Farms."

Perhaps even more important than the additional information provided through the sample, will be the use of sample punch cards to obtain detailed cross tabulations which because of the great expense involved could not readily be obtained through the use of the complete deck of punch cards. Also of great importance will be the fact that the sample will permit a considerably earlier release of basic information, particularly through the early tabulation of the returns of a sample set of 391 counties selected to represent the country as a whole.

*Other programs of the Bureau of the Census.* Other important wartime developments in the Bureau of the Census deserve mention and may be of considerable interest to sociologists for specialized research purposes. Great expansions have occurred during the war in the industry and foreign trade statistics of the Bureau and important expansions are under way or in prospect in the business and state and local governments statistics of the Bureau. As in the case of the demographic and labor force statistics outlined above, major emphasis has been given in these fields towards providing more statistics on a current basis for current use rather than solely on a Census benchmark basis for the record. Particularly interesting to sociologists may be the increased current program of statistics relating to manufacturers<sup>23</sup> and the expansion, in prospect, of the current program for business<sup>24</sup> statistics. Further developments may also be anticipated in the statistics for state and local governments, particularly in the fields of government employment; in financial statistics for levels of governments other than States, cities, and counties, for which reports are now available; and in the prospective development of more detailed data relating to government functions and activities. Of special interest may be the plans for increasing the volume of statistics relating to elections, which are as yet in an early developmental stage.

<sup>23</sup> See Bureau of the Census "Facts for Industry" series of releases.

<sup>24</sup> Plans for a current business program will be crystallized in the coming months.

*Methodological developments.* Wartime pressures have also greatly stimulated the methodological developments within the Bureau of the Census. Research activity previously under way was crystallized and its results put into operation. These developments may be classified under three headings: sampling, questionnaire design, and machine tabulation.

The extensive requirements of the war and the shortage of manpower have given great impetus to the use of sampling to obtain data. In consequence, new theory and methods<sup>25</sup> of sample design have been developed which make possible today types of surveys which could not have been done as recently as two or three years ago. The sample censuses of population for the Committee on Congested Production Areas referred to above are an example in point. It would not have been possible without the new sampling developments to obtain estimates with as small margins of error from samples as small as those employed. The new sample design used in the Monthly Report of the Labor Force is also a product of this development.

The sampling technique which is being utilized for current population samples in the Bureau of the Census is that becoming popularly known as "area sampling." The method, in essence, involves the selection of a set of small geographic areas and is dependent, therefore, on the availability of detailed maps which permit the delineation of very small areal units. Great efficiency in designs of this character has been made possible by means of Sanborn Maps,<sup>26</sup> a complete set

of which has been purchased by the Bureau of the Census not only for its own use, but, also, for the use of other Federal agencies. The Sanborn Maps cover practically all incorporated places of 2,500 or more inhabitants, most of those between 1,000 and 2,500, and many places smaller than 1,000. The maps show not only city blocks but also individual structures drawn to scale and indicate the principal use of each structure. They are kept up to date through revisions made annually for cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants and at somewhat less frequent intervals for smaller places. For rural areas primary dependence has been placed on maps prepared by the Bureau of Public Roads which show individual farmsteads, and on aerial photographs.

In addition to the sample design now being used for the Monthly Report on the Labor Force, two other important designs for current population sampling should be mentioned. The first is the development of the "master sample for rural areas" developed co-operatively by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the Bureau of the Census, and the Statistical Laboratory of Iowa State College. This sample, which is being currently utilized in conjunction with the 1945 Quinquennial Census of Agriculture, is a highly efficient design for surveys of farms or farm population. The second is the development of a population sample for the United States designed to produce not only national, but, also, State and large city statistics. This is a general purpose sample which can be utilized for any type of survey requiring a canvass of the population and incorporates both the existing sample for the labor force survey and the "master sample for rural areas." The design which should be completed by the end of 1945 will be used for the proposed expansion of the report on the labor force, for the annual sample census of population, and for very special surveys.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Morris H. Hansen and William N. Hurwitz, "On the Theory of Sampling from Finite Populations," *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics*. December, 1943; also, "A New Sample of the Population," *Bureau of the Census*. September, 1944; Philip M. Hauser and Morris H. Hansen, "On Sampling in Market Surveys," *The Journal of Marketing*. July, 1944; William C. Madow and Lillian H. Madow, "On the Theory of Systematic Sampling, I," *The Annals of Mathematical Statistics*. March, 1944; and Benjamin J. Tepping, William N. Hurwitz, and W. Edwards Deming, "On the Efficiency of Deep Stratification in Block Sampling," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*. March, 1943.

<sup>26</sup> Detailed maps compiled and published by the

Sanborn Map Company of New York City. These maps will also provide a basis for improving administrative and technical controls of Census Bureau field work in the taking of complete censuses.

<sup>27</sup> Important developments have also occurred in other fields, namely, the sampling of local gov-



The second type of methodological development is that relating to improved questionnaire design. Progress has been made not only in physical format of schedules<sup>28</sup> but, what is more important, in the development of more objective approaches in attempts to obtain social and economic information through canvass methods. An outstanding example of this type is afforded by the results of the "Survey of Farms and Farm Population" conducted cooperatively by the Bureau of the Census and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics which was designed as an experimental study to test various approaches in obtaining certain population and labor force information. The results of this study are not yet generally available<sup>29</sup> but they indicate improved approaches which will shortly be incorporated into current survey and census activities of the Bureau. Other studies have also been made or are in progress which it may be expected will greatly improve the schedules used by the Bureau of the Census.<sup>30</sup>

A third major development which will have an important effect in reducing costs and increasing the quality and quantity of cross-classified statistics in the Bureau of the Census is that relating to the Bureau's mechanical equipment. The Bureau of the Census maintains its own mechanical laboratories and produces a large proportion of the tabulation equipment which it uses. The Census "unit tabulator," invented by Dr. Herman Hollerith as an employee of the Bureau of the Census, has been greatly developed during the years since its invention and has undergone extensive improvement during the

war. Previously restricted to a 45-column card, it has been converted to an 80-column machine which permits the use of collators, multipliers and other types of commercial equipment in conjunction with the Census tabulator. The Census tabulator has also been equipped with automatic plugboards making practicable the tabulation of small and varied studies without impairing its usefulness in the tabulation of mass data. Experimentation is now under way which may also result in the use of automatic controls and automatic group indication. The converted machine will not only make possible cheaper tabulations but it can also be used as a mechanical editing machine to decrease labor costs and to improve accuracy in the editing of census schedules.

New developments also include a machine for stratified sorting. This machine will read as many as 30 columns of the card simultaneously and select cards meeting requirements such as can be established by 48 independent selectors. The 45-column Census sorter has also been converted to an 80-column machine and improved in various technical details. Finally, techniques for the mechanical solution of complex mathematical and scientific problems such as those involving the solution of matrices have been developed and applied.<sup>31</sup> These and other mechanical developments may be expected greatly to improve the quantity and quality of the Bureau's work.

*Conclusion.* In conclusion, it may be stated that wartime pressures have resulted in important statistical developments not only within the Bureau of the Census but throughout the Federal Government. Innovations which have had as their primary purpose the satisfaction of unique wartime needs may be expected to disappear with the termination of hostilities and the return of peacetime activities. Many of the wartime developments, however, such as those described above, rep-

ernments, industrial establishments, and business establishments. For one example, see Bureau of the Census report "Census of Forest Products: 1943."

<sup>28</sup>For example, see schedule forms used for the 1945 Census of Agriculture.

<sup>29</sup>For one result of the study see Louis J. Ducoff and Gertrude Bancroft, "Experiment in the Measurement of Unpaid Family Labor in Agriculture," presented at annual meeting of American Statistical Association, December 28, 1944.

<sup>30</sup>Particularly in the Special Surveys Division, the Population Division, and the Agriculture Division of the Bureau of the Census.

<sup>31</sup>Everett Kimball, Jr., "A Method of Technical Computations by Punched Card Equipment," excerpted in *Society of Automotive Engineers*, August, 1944; also, "A Fundamental Punched Card Method for Technical Computations," Bureau of the Census, October, 1944.



resent crystallization of prewar developments and are as important to the peacetime, as to the wartime, requirements of the Government, business, industry, and research institutions. Although it is difficult to predict the course of future government budgets and Congressional activity, it may reasonably be expected that many of these wartime developments will become part of the regular services of the Government. Sociologists will

do well to become informed of wartime developments throughout the Federal statistical service and to keep in touch with these developments during the transition from war to peace and into the postwar period. Considerable data are already available which provide a basis for important research, and the programs in process and in prospect hold forth great promise for continuing research activities.

### SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIOLOGICAL WORK IN THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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WARTIME needs for information and interpretation in the fields of work of rural sociologists in the Federal service have taken varied forms. There was a considerable need for the development of techniques providing the equivalent of the "dilution of skills" practiced so effectively in manufacturing. Some survey and analytical techniques which previously had been the carefully guarded possessions of initiated students were developed to the point where relatively untrained persons could utilize them with satisfactory results. There was the demand on all statistical work for greater precision and greater speed, because rapidly moving administrative programs required factual bases for quick decisions. There was necessity for a variety of new information and of new approaches to old information, or information that had been previously collected. Much information was developed as a service to administration, and in many instances such studies added to the fund of knowledge concerning the subject matter involved. Finally, as the war brought expansion of interests and activities to all parts of the globe, there was an expansion in the field of work of rural sociologists, so that they gave more attention than previously to rural life in other countries of the world.

An early need for assistance in wartime programs came when the Agricultural Extension

Service attacked the problem of developing a form of rural organization capable of dealing with the many campaigns that were being directed to local areas. The Extension Service wanted to develop a structure of local organization that would utilize local volunteer leaders, and that would be capable of reaching every farm family, whether or not the family had previously been reached by its programs. With the assistance of rural sociologists in the U. S. Department of Agriculture and at colleges of agriculture, an outline for action was developed that was based on the knowledge that in most parts of the country small rural neighborhoods were functioning social structures, and that the utilization of the leadership that had been developed in these neighborhood groups would go far toward assuring the success of programs intended to reach all of the farmers of the country. These leaders, moreover, could serve as channels for two-way communication: from the Federal, State, and county office to the farmers; and from the farmers, in turn, to the county, State, and Federal offices. When steps were taken to translate this outline into a functioning field organization, studies of rural community organization which had been done or were in process in many parts of the country were combed to provide material useful to the administrators involved. Techniques for locat-

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ing and defining the communities and neighborhoods, where they existed, and for locating the "natural" leaders were developed in such a way that persons who formerly had had little contact with the subject matter of community organization were enabled to carry on the necessary field work with a minimum of guidance from technically trained personnel. Some quick exploratory studies were made in a number of areas, but the major use of sociologists in that stage of the work was to conduct demonstration surveys, to serve as advisors in the process of developing this scheme of organization, and to recommend alternative forms of organization in the areas in which the general pattern was not applicable.

Before this first phase had been completed, it was evident that the adequacy of the structure which was being developed should be tested. The Extension Service, Nutrition Committees, the Office of Civilian Defense, and others, were actually carrying on programs designed to reach all farm families, and there was not the time to apply the normal tests of the adequacy of the organizational structure. Sociologists were called upon to appraise the structure and its functioning in the light of wartime needs and to make recommendations for more effective community organization. Many quick surveys were made, with techniques especially developed for the purpose. These surveys were made primarily to answer immediate administrative questions and to a large extent people who were administratively active in the program participated in these studies. Through central planning, however, it was possible to provide for a large measure of comparability. Provision has been made for an analysis of the data relating to rural community structure which have become available through these activities.

Providing a service to meet wartime needs, in this instance supplied a mass of material which had not previously been available to research workers. Moreover, the situation provided a practical demonstration of the need for further knowledge about and understanding community processes on the part of the Extension workers, and brought a de-

mand for training in this field which will probably continue for some time to come. In a number of States the form of community organization developed to meet the war emergencies will be continued as the basic form of organization for Agricultural Extension work after the war.

The demands for facts on which to base administrative decisions necessitated greater precision and speed in much statistical work. Data which had been adequate in a more stable situation were not always adequate in the rapidly changing situation of the war. The statistics relating to agricultural employment and farm population were among those affected.

Since the early 1920's the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has made an annual estimate of the farm population and of migration to and from farms, based on a sample of a questionnaire mailed to farmers. When this war began the farm population still reflected in large part the effects of nearly a decade of retarded migration. Many rural areas were crowded with young people ready to go to alternative opportunities. Then came the pressing wartime industrial demand for workers. The movement from farms was so large that by early 1944 the farm population was 16 percent less than in 1940.

The rapid outmigration, coupled with early inductions into the armed forces, led to deep concern over the prospects of maintaining sufficient manpower to permit the production of necessary agricultural commodities. Interest in data on farm population, migration from farms, and agricultural employment increased and there was a corresponding increase in the demand for statistics as to these developments.

Preparing estimates of farm population and of the movement to and from farms became somewhat more difficult as conditions changed rapidly. Returns from the 1940 Census had indicated that the concept of farm population (defined as all persons living on farms) was no longer the useful analytical tool it had been when it was first given Census recognition a quarter of a century ago. A large number of persons living on farms are not engaged in agriculture, and conversely,

a large number of persons engaged primarily in agriculture do not live on farms. During the 1930-40 decade, population classification by residence was affected by such developments as part-time farming, suburban living on relatively large tracts of land which could be and were used for agricultural purposes, and of transportation and other equipment which made it unnecessary for farm operators in some parts of the country to live on their farms. All of these had made it more difficult to use a residence classification of population (persons living on farms) as approximately describing that portion of the population engaged in agriculture. Wartime job developments have made classification even more difficult than it was in 1940.

As the problems became more sharply defined, several approaches were developed. New questions were introduced into the mailed questionnaires to provide more adequate information, and the design of the schedule was changed so that each respondent would report for his own and for each of the neighboring families, whereas in the earlier schedule he reported for his own family and a group of families in the neighborhood.

The major developments in this line of work were cooperative projects with the Bureau of the Census, utilizing the Monthly Report on the Labor Force; an analysis of matched Population, Agriculture and Housing schedules from the 1940 Census; and a co-operative special survey to secure information about farms and farming early in 1944. Out of these several attempts, the problems of comparability have been narrowed down, and the groundwork has been laid for quarterly national estimates of the farm population in addition to the annual estimates by geographic divisions. The enumerative surveys also provide information by age and sex, and provide a basis for current estimates of numbers of farm families which had not previously been available. Furthermore, the new data are opening up new possibilities of relating the population of farms to the size, type, or other characteristics of the farms, and of relating the

manpower supply on farms to the actual employment in agriculture. The population estimates which are becoming currently available provide the basis for estimates of the age and sex composition of wartime migrants, and will provide new information as to the character of return migration at the end of the war.

Progress is being made in developing an empirical approach to the occupational and industrial composition of the population on farms. It has probably always been true that some of the people living on farms were only indirectly concerned with the activities of the farm. When farms were largely self-sufficient units the farm population, especially in the plantation areas, included many persons who were engaged in what today would be called nonfarm occupations. In more recent years, the necessity for a direct relationship between occupation and residence has lessened. Moreover, the definition of a farm that is in general use provides for the inclusion of many units on which the agricultural operations do not provide the major sources of livelihood of the resident family. It is estimated that in April 1944, 25,870,000 persons were living on farms. Of these 20,320,000 lived in households which included at least one farm operator. Altogether 21,940,000 persons lived in households which contained a farm operator or in which the head was otherwise engaged in agriculture. Which of these figures can most appropriately be related to farm income or to other farm characteristics may differ with the purpose of the analysis, and no final conclusions can be drawn at this time. But the fact that these several groups and others can now be defined and counted provides a basis for further work.

A similar problem of definition arose in connection with the estimates of numbers of people engaged in agriculture. For some purposes it was desired to count all individuals who were contributing to agricultural work; for others it was desired to count only those who devoted the majority of their working time or who obtained the major portion of their incomes from agriculture. The current series on employment and unemploy-

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ment, compiled by the Bureau of the Census, is based on individual reports; it groups individuals in mutually exclusive classes, in order that a total picture of the nation's manpower utilization may be developed. The series of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, on the other hand, is based on so-called establishment reporting, and seeks to measure the labor input from month to month. Because of the difference in concepts some divergence between the two series was to be expected. As differences in trend and level developed, careful investigation was begun. A person who works part-time in agriculture, although he devotes the major portion of his time to a nonagricultural activity, is reported as a nonagricultural worker in the Census series, but if he works more than the specified minimum time at agriculture his contribution is counted in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics report. There were some differences in the extent to which a minimum-time contribution was required to become eligible for inclusion, and there were differences in the age limits used. One of the major differences resulted from the problem of defining objectively the concept of unpaid family workers, and consequently the difficulty of enumerating such workers. As they form a large proportion of all workers in agriculture, and as their proportion presumably increased during the war years, this problem called for intensive investigation. As a result an objective definition, calling for reporting of actual time inputs during the sample week, was devised and tested in a co-operative survey by the two agencies involved. The same approach is being utilized in the Census of Agriculture of 1945 and in some of the current reports, data for which are being collected. The clarification of the concepts used and the more definite establishment of levels will provide tools for analysis of seasonal fluctuations, participation of women and children in the labor force, changes in agricultural productivity, character and development of part-time farming, development of father-son partnerships and similar arrangements, labor utilization of the family-type farm, and numerous other problems with which rural sociologists and agri-

cultural economists have been working.

Public opinion and attitude research is not a new venture for the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, but it, too, has received considerable impetus through wartime demands. Administrators of agricultural wartime programs, like administrators of other wartime programs, found themselves constantly needing to know the reactions of that portion of the public affected by the programs. This was especially true in regard to problems involving agricultural production, for the response to appeals and programs to reach stated production goals involved the reactions of hundreds of thousands or perhaps millions of individual entrepreneurs. Program administrators needed to know quickly how a program was being received by the people called upon as well as by the public at large. They needed to know also the reasons for success or failure in awakening a favorable response and they needed to get suggestions for possible improvements which might be used while that program was underway or in similar programs to be developed later. The interpretation which people placed on the provisions of a program and its restrictive or benefit features, and the ostensible or real reasons for the actions they took, are of vital concern to administrators. Many of the wartime activities called for action along new lines for which past experience provided little guidance. Opinion and attitude surveys provided one means of obtaining the necessary information and they were increasingly in demand. They were used to interpret reports on farmers' intentions to plant, and to learn the views of farmers on price-support programs, on special price and marketing programs, on rising land values, and on many other topics.

Under the pressures of a war situation the opinion and attitude studies had suddenly to deal not only with these phenomena, but also with the whole complex relationship, economic, psychological, and social. These surveys were called for because of their utility in explaining economic, administrative, and political problems. Inevitably, then, there was an interrelating of economic and social data with those obtained directly by the



studies centered on attitudinal materials. It soon became apparent that attitude analyses had a bearing on studies of farm management, price relationships, changes in land market, manpower problems, and many other questions.\*

In an agency like the Bureau of Agricultural Economics the nature of a problem under study often requires the combined attention of specialists in several fields, particularly of economists and sociologists.

To facilitate such an interrelating of work and the application of improved technical sampling methods a sample for field enumerations was developed which represented farms in all parts of the United States. This sample, designated as the "Master Sample," consists of about 60,000 small geographic areas including a total of approximately 300,000 farms, subdivided into three independent national samples, each containing approximately 100,000 farms. Subsampling within the total can easily be provided for and additional sample areas can be drawn readily as needed. Sample areas have been designated in each county of the United States which contains agricultural enterprises. In each county the entire area was divided into small areas consisting of clusters of about 5 farms each. These small areas are defined in terms of political boundaries or by roads or other physical characteristics, wherever possible, so that the boundaries can be readily recognized by field workers.

The work of drawing the sample has been done co-operatively by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Bureau of the Census, using the facilities of the Statistical Laboratory maintained by the Department of Agriculture and Iowa State College. Arrangements have been made which will enable ready tabulation of the Census data for any combination of the sample areas. Arrangements are also being made to combine the information obtained from surveys that utilize these sample areas, in order that results of subsequent surveys may be more readily

compared with it. Insofar as applicable, this sampling plan is to serve as the basis for sample surveys within the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Bureau of the Census and it is hoped that eventually it may be made more widely available. The scheme is flexible enough to be adaptable to a large variety of situations. Its use to improve sampling in economic and social surveys in agriculture promises to have far-reaching importance. Its further possibility of aiding in relating data from separate surveys offers significant opportunities for increasing the efficiency of sampling surveys, and for making more effective use of the data collected through them.

The Master Sample is primarily a device for sampling within counties. It provides a ready means of securing an unbiased sample that is adequate for State estimates for a larger number of items. Many inquiries, however, are necessarily limited to a sample much smaller than the total number of farms in the Master Sample. In many instances the purposes of a survey will be served best by selecting a sample of counties and using the Master Sample Areas within these counties. Several techniques for the selection of sample counties are under study.

In one recent case, factor-analysis techniques have been applied to this problem with what promise to be highly useful results. The problem was to design a sample of counties that would represent the major type-of-farming areas and would give consideration to a number of sociological and economic factors not all of which could be expressed quantitatively. Some 12 to 14 variables, expressed quantitatively, were selected as most relevant to the purposes of the proposed inquiry and these were combined to provide a basis of stratification within each major type-of-farming area. The field personnel were given an opportunity to apply additional criteria in the selection of counties within the substrata and the results of their selections were tested for bias before any field work was started. Subsequent adjustments in the selection of counties were made as required, to avoid detectable biases. The full possibilities of this technique for

\* Another paper in this group was to have dealt with the development of techniques of public opinion surveys.

selecting sample areas for sociological studies have not been explored, but it promises to have considerable utility for studies involving the need for control on a large number of variables.

If sociologists are to make their full contribution in an agency like the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, their specialized studies must be related to each other and to the studies of American agriculture which are made by other specialists. One approach to the problem of integration of field studies is being made by the Farm Population and Rural Welfare staff which is planning to concentrate a large share of its field surveys in a sample of 70 counties, selected by the techniques mentioned above, to represent the rural life of the United States. The sample is so drawn that national totals, as well as totals for major type-of-farming areas; such as the Corn Belt, the Cotton Belt, etc.; can be developed from it. These sample areas are to be the focus of a series of research studies directed to: a) the culture of the area and its changes; and b) the specialized activities represented by the field of interest of this staff, i.e., population, levels of living, farm labor, rural communities and institutions, mechanization and urbanization, cultural values, and farmers' attitudes. Single time studies, studies of trends, and the broader study of American rural life as a whole are to be centered in these sample areas. The detailed studies which have already been made there supplement each other, and fit into a larger pattern for an analysis of rural life in the United States. Each line of activity is to contribute to the others and the analyses carried out will form a more systematic framework than would be possible if each specialized line of research were to be carried on independently of the others. Techniques to be used will vary with the specific objectives; for example, field interviews with a carefully selected sample of farm residents are to be supplemented with interviews of local participant observers, selected to represent the major social and economic groupings of the areas. Local leaders and officials, secondary sources of statistics and other information,

and other appropriate sources are to be utilized. In addition, the intensive work in the sample counties is to be closely related to statistical series collected from a larger sample.

An essential feature of this plan is the close interrelationship that is to be developed among the specialized studies to be undertaken, whether primarily sociological or economic, and the knowledge that is being developed about the culture of the area. The cultural analysis proper is to stress primarily cultural origins, techniques and patterns of making a living, social organization, patterns and relationships with the outside, and value systems, attitudes, ideas and ideals.

Dr. Carl C. Taylor, in charge of this work, states one of the purposes in the following words: "By systematic and repeated analyses of each geographic area useful findings will become cumulative. Our fields of research are not segmental and our analyses of fields are not episodic but systematic. We have so organized our work that each line and type of analysis contributes to all others. We have defined and confined our work geographically and can do repeated analyses in each area."

The ultimate objective is to contribute to the knowledge of rural life in the United States and the significant respects in which it is changing. It is a group research project which will yield many specialized reports as it is carried on, but is oriented primarily to a systematic analysis of its major theme: rural life in the United States. Segmental reports dealing with specific phases of war and post-war problems are currently being issued.

A relatively new field which has been opened to rural sociologists in the Federal service came through the expansion of the work relating to foreign countries. Their services involved acting as "intelligence" officers for a number of foreign areas; making detailed first-hand studies of the rural life of some of the Latin American countries; providing research assistance to some of the colonization and Agricultural Experiment Station programs being carried on in Latin American countries; providing assistance in training workers from foreign countries and

in evaluating some of the training programs.

Rural sociologists in the Department of Agriculture have functioned in a variety of capacities during the war years. Some were in unusual demand directly because of their sociological training and interests, others because of their capabilities as individuals. By the contributions they have made through

their specialized training and interests they have had the opportunity not only to help solve the pressing problems of the moment but to expand the general comprehension of the role which the scientific study of society can play in understanding the mainsprings of American rural life.

## IMPACT OF THE WAR ON MINNESOTA COMMUNITIES: WITH REFERENCE TO PROBLEMS OF POSTWAR PLANNING\*

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THE STUDY of public opinion in a community yields information about the proportions of people for or against stated issues. These facts about opinions may confirm or disprove the opinions previously held about the distribution of opinions of the public. Such disclosures as result from a survey may be of real importance to the leaders of the community who plan its development. Use of such information also will help leaders to clarify their own ideas about such fundamentally different matters as opinions about facts, opinions about opinions, and facts about opinions.

How does one obtain a fair measure of public opinion on rationing issues? Our study began with the selection of a cross-section of the people of Red Wing, such that all classes of individuals had an equal chance of inclusion in the group to be interviewed. This was accomplished by selecting a random sample of the households of the city by taking every fifth home from the city assessors' maps. A group of 39 women of Red Wing volunteered to make the canvass. Before they started interviews of householders and housewives, a brief session for instruction was held, and carefully prepared sheets of detailed directions were given each vis-

itor. There were three schedules<sup>1</sup> used: one contained questions on nine aspects of war time rationing, a second asked for information about the various groups and organizations the person was active in, and a third was to obtain information about education, income, occupation, size and composition of the family of each person interviewed. The information given was held confidential and by numbering the schedule, no names were used.

The results of the survey of opinions in Red Wing may be summarized briefly as follows: (1) The majority of Red Wing Citizens believe that war time rationing is necessary and support it; (2) a majority prefer local boards of enforcing officials to Federal enforcing officials, thus seeming to oppose any tendency to bureaucracy; (3) majority opinion favors gradual scaling down of rationing regulations after the war; (4) community leaders are more decisive, as a rule, than the masses in holding such opin-

<sup>1</sup> Most of the returns to the questions on rationing related to the rationing of food and were made by housewives in home interviews. There were a few cases of responses of persons to rationing of fuel and gasoline. Since the numbers of these were few and were obtained from men in home interviews, all responses were thrown together to obtain the best impression of opinion about rationing in general. The responses were, however, always made on the basis of experience with a specific form of rationing, and did not represent response to rationing in principle.

\* Abstract of a monograph "Impact of the War on Community Leadership and Opinion in Red Wing, Minnesota." University of Minnesota Press, 1945.

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ions; (5) those who were least decisive in their opinions (the percentages undecided on given issues), tended to have lower incomes on the average, followed the less skilled or unskilled occupations, and had slightly fewer years of school education, than those with more decided opinions; (6) three different groups of leaders, a specially selected group, an emergent group, and a group of labor leaders, showed some sharp differences of opinion on the administration of rationing rules by local enforcement officers; (7) these three groups of leaders also showed differences among themselves in the degree and extent of their community activities; (8) the selected leaders and the emergent leaders were clearly differentiated from the masses by higher average income, more years of school education, and intense

activity in community groups; (9) union members tended to follow the trend of opinion of labor leaders except for the issue of administration of rationing by local officers, on which they disagreed; (10) ration board members believed that their experience on ration boards had positive values for them as individuals; (11) they felt, however, that there were personal complications in such service which affected health, fatigue, time for recreation and business relationships; (12) ration board members believed that common sense statements of war time rationing rules would have been better than legal terminology; and (13) occupational shifts among gainfully employed persons in Red Wing were found between the 1940 Census and this 1943 sample, which reflected the impact of the war time economy.

## A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE ON THE EMPIRICAL ESTABLISHMENT OF CULTURE PATTERNS<sup>1</sup>

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**I** The cultural approach. Fundamentally, the scientific study of a culture exemplifies one of two approaches. One is followed in most of the monographic anthropological literature. The other is implied in some of the more theoretically oriented anthropological writings<sup>2</sup> and especially in

certain concepts of the sociology of knowledge<sup>3</sup>; yet it has not, to my knowledge, been made the explicit theoretical basis of the empirical study of a culture or community. The two approaches may be distinguished, first, on the philosophical-methodological level and, second, on what may be called the contentual level.

Philosophically and therefore methodologically, the first approach proceeds on the assumption that a person can and should study a culture as the natural scientist studies nature.<sup>4</sup> The culture is *there*—the task is

<sup>1</sup> Revision of a paper presented at the Summer Institute of the Society for Social Research at the University of Chicago, August 4, 1944. Research on which this paper is based was made possible by a post-doctoral fellowship of the Social Science Research Council. I am indebted to Dr. Sol Tax, University of Chicago, and to Dr. Melvin J. Tumin, Wayne University, for valuable criticisms and suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Gregory Bateson, *Naven*. Cambridge, England, 1936, or E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*. Oxford, England, 1937, and the "culture pattern" school, of which below. Cf. also Gregory Bateson, "Experiments in Thinking about Observed Ethnological Material," *Philosophy of Science*. 8:53-68, January, 1941, and Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Place of Theory in Anthropological Studies." *Ibid.*, 6:328-344, July, 1939.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the works of George A. Lundberg, Read Bain, and others.

<sup>4</sup> Esp. Karl Mannheim's concept of "existential determination of knowledge," *Ideology and Utopia*. New York: 1936, pp. 237-240, esp. p. 239 and note, and its discussion by Robert K. Merton, "Karl Mannheim and the Sociology of Knowledge," unpaginated reprint from *The Journal of Liberal Religion*. II, 3, Winter, 1941; further discussion of Mannheim in Virgil G. Hinshaw, Jr., "The Epistemological Relevance of Mannheim's Sociology of Knowledge," *The Journal of Philosophy*. 11:57-72,



to learn about it; and we learn about it with the help of rules which will be perfected in the course of scientific progress. It is true that many students of this school are aware of the "personal equation,"<sup>5</sup> which refers to the investigator's biases, emotions, prejudgments, or even to his own cultural "mold." Yet this personal equation is considered merely a flaw which each individual student must try his best to eliminate so that objectivity may be preserved as much as possible.<sup>6</sup> For this process of elimination he relies on rules of science which are widely held and often taken for granted, such as the careful formulation of a hypothesis, the systematic search for the negative case, various pragmatic aspects, and others.<sup>7</sup> By contrast, for the second approach to the scientific study of cultures, the "personal equation" is not a necessary evil, but the explicitly acknowledged basis. The personal, or better, cultural equation determines what *can be* perceived and interpreted of the culture under study, and *as what* it can be perceived and interpreted. For reasons of simplified reference, I call the first, the

"objective" approach, and the second, the "cultural" approach. On the philosophical-methodological level, then, the contrast between the two can be pointedly summarized as follows: For the former, the objective approach, the relation between the student and the culture which he examines is taken for granted, and the central concept is that of scientific procedure, under which aspects of the relation between student and culture under study which have become problematical are subsumed as technicalities. For the latter, the cultural approach, the scientific procedure is taken for granted, and the central concept is that of cultural equation, under which aspects of scientific procedure which have become problematical are subsumed as technicalities.

Yet furthermore, the follower of the objective school not only finds his work largely predetermined by scientific rules but also by what may be labeled "contentual" rules. His teachers have not only told him *how* to study a culture but also *what* to study. If he is a sociologist he may, for instance, take *Middletown* as a model and study his community by beginning with "Getting a Living" and following the chapters down the line until he comes to an outlook on the future. If he is an anthropologist he probably has in mind a number of important aspects of a culture, such as economics, social relations, child-rearing and education, and the like. He takes it for granted that some such "division" obtains in the culture he wants to study, no matter which, because such a division makes sense in his own culture.<sup>8</sup> Yet suppose that a Tasmanian, or even a Spanish-American, studies the culture of New York or Seattle: would he take for granted the same aspects which an American student of a Tasmanian tribe or of a Mexican or New Mexican community takes for

February 4, 1943; and in H. Otto Dahlke, "The Sociology of Knowledge," in Barnes, Becker and Becker, *Contemporary Social Theory*. New York and London: 1940, esp. pp. 82-85. For a concise general treatment of the problems of the sociology of knowledge (although with very little attention to Mannheim), see Gerard DeGré, *Society and Ideology*. New York: 1943.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Pauline V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research*. New York: 1939, pp. 134-135.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., e.g., the general attitude as expressed by L. L. Bernard, "The Sources and Methods of Cultural and Folk Sociology," in L. L. Bernard, Ed., *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*. New York: 1934, esp. pp. 354-355; also the whole literature on "evaluation" vs. "fact" in the social sciences, from Rickert and Max Weber to Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*. New York and London: 1944, pp. 1035-1064.

<sup>7</sup> Cf., e.g., M. R. Cohen and E. Nagel, *An Introduction to Logic and Scientific Method*. New York: 1934; John Dewey, *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*. New York: 1938; A. D. Ritchie, *Scientific Method*. London: 1923; A. N. Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World*. New York: 1925; A. C. Benjamin, *The Logical Structure of Science*. London: 1936; G. H. Mead, "The Nature of Scientific Knowledge," in *The Philosophy of the Act*. Chicago: 1938, pp. 45-62; etc.

<sup>8</sup> In this connection, Gunnar Myrdal's suggestion is highly stimulating (*op. cit.*, p. 3): "America, compared to every other country in Western civilization, large or small, has the *most explicitly expressed* system of general ideals in reference to human interrelations. This body of ideals is more widely understood and appreciated than similar ideals are anywhere else." (Original italics.)

granted? I imagine he would not. I cannot prove it because to my knowledge no Tasmanian, or even Spanish-American, has studied a U. S. community, or else he was trained in the objective school. In fact, unless he was thus trained, we might be inclined not to consider his study scientific but merely a curious and naïve document. This reflection, though in a roundabout way, proves the highly specific, i.e., cultural, character of our social science and should therefore, at least, make it clear that its approach is only one among others.<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps the contrast with the second approach can be pointed out most sharply on this contentual level. Instead of treating a culture by contentual divisions,<sup>10</sup> the cul-

<sup>9</sup>Following the presentation of the first draft of this paper, Robert J. Havighurst suggested that this line of thought necessarily leads to the question of whether, in our own society, a "middle-class" sociologist could adequately study a "lower-class" group. A thorough answer to this question needs, first, a distinct and comprehensive theory of "class" and, second, a distinct and comprehensive theory of the relations between our "subcultures" and our "culture." I do not think that at present we have either. (As to the first, certainly W. Lloyd Warner's and his followers' "class" theory is inadequate; cf. C. Wright Mills's review of Warner and Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*. New Haven: 1941, in *American Sociological Review*, 7:263-271, April, 1942. On subcultures, cf. the stimulating discussion in Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*. New York and London: 1936, pp. 275-276.) My offhand answer to the question raised by Professor Havighurst is that recent presentations of U.S. culture, esp. Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* Princeton: 1939; Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Way of Life," *The Kenyon Review*, 3:160-170, Spring, 1941; Margaret Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry*. New York: 1942, would indicate that what our culture has in common is more pervasive than what it differentiates; so that the case of the "middle-class" sociologist studying a "lower-class" group would not seem to be an example in point of my thought, and that such documents as Shaw's studies of delinquents, Anderson's studies of the hobo, Thrasher's *The Gang*, Whyte's *Street Corner Society*, etc., are not fundamentally vitiated by the shortcoming which Professor Havighurst envisaged. (Cf. in this connection the critiques of Adler, Rank, Freud, Thomas and Znaniecki, Shaw, and others by John Dollard in his *Criteria for the Life History*. New Haven: 1935.)

<sup>10</sup>The closeness to Malinowski's functionalism is obvious; cf. functional anthropology "holds that

tural approach proposes to treat it in terms of its patterns. The concept of pattern overrides contentual distinctions. Rather, it considers any contents as materials which may be patterned. From the standpoint of the members of the culture under study, the contentual is that to which patterns may apply; from the standpoint of the student of the culture, the contentual is the heuristic sphere of observation where patterns may be discerned. Clyde Kluckhohn<sup>11</sup> has clearly presented a list of types of patterns. Yet two decisive questions have not been raised, much less answered. One is the question of selection, namely: which observations of materials or inferences or constructs does the student call "patterns" and which does he not call so? The other is the question of method, namely: how does the student establish patterns empirically,<sup>12</sup> i.e., so that another student can check on them; and how does he prove his patterns to be adequate

the . . . laws [of the cultural process] are to be found in the function of the real elements of culture. The atomizing or isolating treatment of cultural traits is regarded as sterile, because the significance of culture consists in the relation between its elements. . . ." Bronislaw Malinowski, "Culture," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 1931, Vol. IV, p. 625. However, while Malinowski is predominantly interested in an explanation of culture as a human characteristic and, proceeding on this basis, comes upon the concepts of need and institution (cf. his "Man's Culture and Man's Behavior," *Sigma Xi Quarterly*, 29:182-196, October, 1941, and 30:66-78, January, 1942; and *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays*. Chapel Hill: 1944), the cultural approach is predominantly interested in studying cultures, and comes upon the concept of pattern. See below.

<sup>11</sup>Clyde Kluckhohn, "Patterning as Exemplified in Navaho Culture," in Leslie Spier, A. Irving Hallowell, Stanley S. Newman, Eds., *Language, Culture, and Personality, Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir*. Menasha: 1941, pp. 100-130, esp. 114-129. This exposition by far surpasses the methodology of preceding studies, esp. Ruth Benedict's pioneering *Patterns of Culture*. Boston: 1934, or Carle C. Zimmerman's *The Changing Community*. New York and London: 1938, esp. 155-157, as well as philosophically related works, from Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* to Sorokin's *Social and Cultural Dynamics* and Morris's *Paths of Life*.

<sup>12</sup>Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 124, seems to answer this question in terms of statistics, but see below.

as an interpretation of the culture under study? In the following, preliminary answers to these two questions are given. They are based on five months of field work in a small Spanish-Anglo community in New Mexico.<sup>13</sup>

II. *Selection of patterns.* Tentative answers to both questions may be found if it is remembered, first, that the pattern concept is typical of the cultural approach and that the central concept of this approach is the "cultural equation," and, second, that the cultural equation determines what *can be* perceived and interpreted of the culture under study, and *as what* it can be perceived and interpreted. It may be assumed that in any culture under study a certain type of phenomena is perceived in such a way as to call for interpretation. It is these phenomena which strike the student as different from the ones that form part of his, and his group's, universe of discourse<sup>14</sup>; phenomena which therefore are not readily incorporable into this universe of discourse and which, consequently, call for some procedure by means of which they can be incorporated. This picture seems to be the more clear-cut the more different the two respective universes of discourse, or cultures, are—that under study and that of the student. A ritual among the Iatmul at once and undoubtedly appears to be part of a culture which the student does not share, and hence calls for subsumption under a larger "whole" which in turn is incorporated into the student's own culture. Or, to express the same thought in more customary terms: the student tries to understand the ritual within that larger complex and in turn tries to understand that complex itself. The picture

<sup>13</sup> Space limitations have made impossible the inclusion of rather extensive field notes gathered during the course of this field study which would have served to illustrate the analysis presented in this paper.

<sup>14</sup> "Universe of discourse" (of an individual or a group) is the totality of concepts used (by that individual or group) plus their implications. Cf. Kurt H. Wolff, "The Sociology of Knowledge: Emphasis on an Empirical Attitude," *Philosophy of Science*, 10:109, note 19, April, 1943. Cf. also George H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society*. Chicago: 1934, p. 269.

seems least clear-cut where the two cultures are most similar. In contrast to the study of an exotic culture we have the sociological community study, where the student is struck by relatively minor nuances of his own culture.<sup>15</sup> The middle is held by "folk cultures."<sup>16</sup> They partake of the urban civilization of which the student is a member, but also of another culture which he wants to detect and describe in its fusion with his own. In many cases, therefore, it is difficult to ascertain whether an observation "belongs" to a whole that has the same significance as it has in his own culture, or whether it betrays hitherto unsuspected or suspected features. This is but to say that in folk cultures, diversities are not as striking as in exotic cultures, and likenesses not as striking as in urban communities.

The first step, then, toward an answer to the question of which observations are dignified by the term "pattern," is a preliminary classification of the culture under study in such terms as "exotic," "folk," or "urban." This classification is usually performed spontaneously and without much or any regard to the methodological consequences here discussed. If made with the awareness of its methodological implications, however, a sharper focus on the selection of patterns is produced. Suppose the culture under consideration is classified as belonging in the broad category of folk culture. The student thus expects to find patterns that this culture shares with his own—perhaps, e.g., in the field of attitudes toward money and the manipulation of it—and others which are not shared by the urban culture—perhaps, e.g., in the field of certain beliefs about planting or stars. Now, it must never be forgotten that this division of potential patterns is the student's own division—very likely not that of the members of the culture under study. It is a theoretical distinction on the level of classification and heuristic hypothe-

<sup>15</sup> Cf. remarks made in note 9 above.

<sup>16</sup> The most recent systematic presentation of folk culture known to me is Robert Redfield, *The Folk Society* (hctographed). Chicago: August 12, 1942.



sis or, to use a term of Karl Mannheim's,<sup>17</sup> of "sociological interpretation." It has not proceeded to the level of understanding, or of "immanent interpretation." It does not, as yet, interpret the culture under study in terms of its members.<sup>18</sup> The real difficulty, or the proper task, of the student of a folk culture is to study the mutual interdependence and the mutual shaping of patterns which he has preliminarily ascribed to urban or to "native" influences. Thus, patterns expressing attitudes toward money, e.g., must be examined with reference to their possible relation to, or influence on, patterns expressing beliefs in stars. The empirical ascertainment of interactions of this kind allows the student to describe the uniqueness of the folk culture which he is examining.<sup>19</sup>

The student, aware of a preliminary classification of the culture he wants to study, and of the difference between a classificatory and an immanent interpretation of what he will observe, now proceeds to the actual field work. To put it bluntly, he is about to fill his theoretical, or rational, framework empirically. He is now interested in answering the question of how this particular folk culture is made up in terms of his theoretical approach. According to his individual disposition he may quickly formulate hypotheses and search for checks on them; or he may record anything that comes under his observation and try to piece together patterns

in a slower manner. In either case, his cultural and personal sensitivity, enriched and sharpened by theoretical thinking, puts the limit on what he can perceive and interpret.<sup>20</sup>

In the field, then, the question of selection is answered in the followed order: avid collection of empirical materials, immanent interpretation of these materials, their classification, classification of the culture. This is the reverse order of that which characterized the theorizing stage preceding the field work, where it was: preliminary classification of the culture, classificatory expectations regarding the materials to be collected. The three last steps in the field—immanent interpretation of materials, their classification, classification of the culture—in fact answer the question of selection. They determine, (a) what patterns appear when the materials are interpreted as constituents of a meaningful presentation of the culture; (b) how the materials are to be classified—because constituents of this presentation—as imputable to other presentations (types) of cultures; (c) how the culture itself is to be classified. When each of these steps is taken probably depends on the investigator's disposition.<sup>21</sup>

III. *Empirical establishment of patterns.* The answer to the first question—of selection—remains not quite clear as long as there is none to the second, namely, how the student establishes patterns empirically, and how he proves them to be adequate as an interpretation of the culture. In other words,

<sup>17</sup> Karl Mannheim, "Ideologische und soziologische Interpretation der geistigen Gebilde," *Jahrbuch für Soziologie*. Vol. II, Karlsruhe, 1926.

<sup>18</sup> It is, however, from the latter standpoint that Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, has classified patterns.

<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that the two "elements" of a folk culture, here designated in so oversimplified a form as "urban" and "non-urban," may, of course, each need to be seen as consisting of various cultural strains. Thus the culture of the New Mexican community previously referred to, in its urban aspects, combines strains from a culture colored by international industrialization, from the "average American city culture," from regional cultural peculiarities, and from cultures of still more near-by "semi-urban" centers; in its non-urban aspects, it combines strains from Spanish, Mexican, rural, and Indian cultures—and all strains are differentiated in terms of the two main (and other) types of the members of this culture—Spanish-speaking and English-speaking persons.

<sup>20</sup> My own experience is that for an initial period of field work I prefer the slower, more chaotic manner of recording anything that comes under my observation to the method of rapidly formulating hypotheses, because I am aware that a premature hypothesis, although checkable and corrigible, shapes one's chances of perception and interpretation. I am also aware, of course, that one cannot proceed without hypotheses. But those which I have advanced as a general theoretical approach to the study of cultures appear to me the minimal limitations-enrichments of my sensitivity.

<sup>21</sup> From my own experience I should say that the initial period of avidly collecting materials comes to an end when their "sheer quantity" forces the student to begin his interpretation. It may be noted that this interpretation is likely to be based on a topical breakdown of the materials—a breakdown which has probably accompanied their collection itself.



after it has been shown how patterns are looked for and found, it must now be demonstrated how they can be ascertained. While the preceding discussion did justice to any meaning the reader may reasonably have been expected to attribute to "pattern," it now becomes necessary to introduce a formal, though still provisional definition of it. A pattern is a uniformity of emotion, attitude, thoughtway, or knowledge.<sup>22</sup> In this definition it is implied that a pattern may be characteristic of an individual, of a group, or of all members of the culture under study. Therefore, to find out to which of these three categories the pattern applies, is a statistical proposition. Theoretically, this is all that has to be said in answer to the question of how patterns are established empirically—by statistics.<sup>23</sup> In practice, however, there is more to the answer to this question. In most cases a sample technique must be devised. This, not only because it would be impossible, even in a culture shared by very few individuals, to test all patterns by a complete coverage, but also because it is not necessary to do so. In fact, in many cases it is scientifically legitimate to do without a statistically valid sample, as I shall try to show. When this is possible depends on the nature of the pattern under examination and on the purpose of the study.

If we want to know how many members of a culture own a house, are married, belong to a certain organization, have given occupations, or similar uniformities, there is no substitute for at least a statistically valid sample count. According to the conception of society and culture current in our universe of discourse, counts of this sort are held to be necessary for the presentation of a gen-

eral picture of the culture under study. They are customarily dealt with under such contentual models as, respectively, "property," "marriage and family," "organizations and institutions," and "occupational distribution." It is not important here to answer the question whether uniformities of this nature should be called patterns or not; they could be only by stretching our definition considerably.<sup>24</sup> If the task of the student is to give a "total picture" of the culture, they are, at least, not of primary importance.<sup>25</sup> Yet they bridge the two cultures or universes of discourse (the student's and his readers', and the one to be studied) in such a way as to function as "background materials" for the culture to be incorporated: they can be grasped as readily understood things by the same means as they would be in the study of a culture very similar to that of the student's and reader's—an American urban or even rural community, for instance.

At this point the implications of "immanent interpretation" must be more closely examined. "Immanent interpretation" has two referents, of which Mannheim has discussed only one.<sup>26</sup> "Immanent interpretation of patterns" is, first, the description of the meaning which an individual or group gives to the uniformity of emotion, attitude, thoughtway, or knowledge. In this sense, it is the description of what meaning a person or group gives, e.g., to being in a reverent mood when at church (emotion), to liking beer, children, nature, or to hating Negroes, Jews, Mexicans (attitude), to conceptions of the war, of time, of money (thoughtways), or to orientation in time and space, to acquaintance with and use of herbs, sew-

<sup>22</sup> Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, unfortunately gives no explicit definition of "pattern." In contrast to "custom" and "trait," which are contentual, it is structural (pp. 114, 116); in contrast to "configuration," which applies to covert culture, it applies to overt culture (pp. 114, 124, 129); "overt" and "covert" are not defined, however.

<sup>23</sup> It is understood (as is all scientific rule) that the method by which statistical data are arrived at depends on the nature of the pattern (it may be interview, casual conversation, observation, questionnaire, etc., or any combination of them).

<sup>24</sup> Namely, if Kluckhohn's distinction between structural (patterns) and contentual (traits) regularities were obliterated and, e.g., house-ownership (i.e., something in which the student is interested as in a contentual item) were considered in its interrelation with (structural) patterns. The study in which this is done to my knowledge has yet to be written. See above and below on interrelatedness of patterns.

<sup>25</sup> They are paid no, or very little attention in Benedict, *op. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> And with reference to intellectual productions exclusively. Cf. *op. cit.*

ing machines, wells, radios (knowledge). In other words, it is the recording of interpretations given by the members of the culture under study (and in some cases these interpretations may be "rationalizations.") This is the referent Mannheim discusses. But "immanent interpretation" has another referent, and it is the more important one denoted in the expression, the "immanent interpretation of the materials." This expression was used to designate the first step which the student takes toward a presentation of the culture he studies. When this step was discussed it was defined as the interpretation of the materials "as constituents of a meaningful presentation of the culture." The significance of this statement must be made more explicit.

"Meaningful presentation of the culture" is its reinterpretation in such a way as to make its uniqueness incorporable into the universe of discourse of the student's and of his readers. The ideal-theoretical extreme of meaningfulness is identification with this culture.<sup>27</sup> However, this is not only practically impossible to attain, such identification would also be unformulable objectively, and hence unscientific (but rather artistic-intuitive). Yet even if we do not go beyond the establishment of patterns, their scientifically desirable statistical bases are not always either obtainable or called for. I have shown for which types of uniformities (usually not called patterns) they are obtainable as well as called for—for those which, in the cultural approach, make up background materials.<sup>28</sup> For patterns, i.e., uniformities of emotion, attitude, thoughtway, knowledge, something else is both obtainable and called for, namely, the presentation of the interrelatedness of patterns in such a way as to enable us to understand and predict the culture under study.

Suppose<sup>29</sup> the student has observed that a girl of eight years is afraid to cross a small creek. He has also observed fear in other

individuals of the same culture on other occasions. He tentatively formulates fear as a pattern of reacting to certain things. It is impossible for him to ascertain statistically all things to which all members of the culture react with fear. Rather, he keeps his preliminary fear pattern—a uniformity of emotion and/or attitude—in mind while continuing his observations and preliminary formulations of other patterns. One of these, he observes, is the economical handling of language in speech, and its unaccomplished semi-illiterate handling in writing—a uniformity of thoughtways. He also remembers, from his background materials, statistical figures on illiteracy, formal education, and similar. Again, it is impossible for him to ascertain statistically all situations in which all members of the culture express themselves linguistically. Nor is this called for, for what the student is interested in is the question of the interrelatedness of the fear pattern and the language pattern. Is there a connection between fear as a norm of reacting to certain things accepted by the members of this culture, and the likewise accepted economic handling of language as a norm of manipulating (expressing, withholding, implying) one's thoughts? Is perhaps economic insecurity a link between the two patterns? Here again the student adduces his background figures on property, income, indebtedness, budgets, etc.

In this example a number of methodological questions have been ignored, but it is hoped that the answer to the first part of our second question now becomes clearer: the student establishes patterns empirically by the presentation of the interrelatedness of patterns in such a way as to enable us to understand and predict the culture we study. It should be added that in establishing the interrelatedness of patterns the student makes use, as much as his sensitivity and integrity as a scientist force him to, of scientific rule. He will try to obtain some statistical basis, which alone enables him to ascertain whether the pattern he has hypothetically formulated applies to an individual, to a group, or to all members of the culture. Both for this purpose and for the purpose of throwing

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>28</sup> See above, esp. note 21.

<sup>29</sup> The following discussion is simplified by overlooking a classification of the patterns mentioned according to Kluckhohn's (*op. cit.*, pp. 114-129) scheme.

light on the interrelatedness of patterns, it is necessary to search for negative cases. These two examples once more illustrate what is meant, with reference to the empirical establishment of patterns, by the fact that scientific rule is taken for granted in the cultural approach.

It will have been seen that the answer to the question of how patterns are established empirically is intimately connected with the answer to the question of their selection. Even more closely related to the problem of empirical ascertainment of patterns is the last question, namely, how the student proves that the patterns he has established are indeed adequate as an interpretation of the culture. In fact, the answer to this question is implied in the statement that he establishes patterns empirically by the presentation of their interrelatedness. The answer only needs to be made explicit. His patterns are proved to be adequate when they make it possible to understand and predict the culture presented in their terms. What is meant by predictability, i.e., the anticipation of the reaction of the culture to certain changes and its change with these changes, is connoted by the colloquial meaning of this term itself. The prediction value of the presentation can be judged only by the future. As regards understanding, the meaning of this term has been made clear by the discussion of the pattern approach: it is precisely this approach which is held to be most appropriate to our understanding of a culture. It should be noted, however, that the understanding of certain aspects of a culture, made possible through the presentation of certain patterns, does not guarantee the understanding of other aspects. In other words, the fact that a presentation "makes sense" or is plausible does not prove that important things have not been overlooked—the future may, or may not, find the student out. Other than this, his only probability of having understood the culture is the maximum collection of materials, the most rigorous search for negative cases, and the most imaginative testing of varieties of alternatives in explanations and pattern combinations. Here again his sensitivity, trained by theoretical

thinking, is of the essential importance.

In comparison with the immanent interpretation of a culture, its classification is easier, less urgent, and less exclusively the responsibility of the student. For once he has presented the culture, others may classify it according to their theories. The original presentation may enrich a relatively wide public's universe of discourse by a new conception of human society and culture. The classification will enrich the universe of discourse of a more specialized public—those interested in sociological and anthropological theory and, especially, in types or continua of cultures. This is not to say, however, that the classificatory phase is less important. For science itself it is the most important aspect of the study, since science progresses by a refinement of theory. Therefore, the decisive contribution to the advancement of science, made by the cultural approach through the presentation of a culture, is its contribution to scientific theory.

IV. *Summary of the theory presented in this paper.* A summary of the contrast between the two approaches to the study of a culture and of the methodological bases of the cultural approach may be given as follows:

A. Two approaches to the scientific study of a culture.

- (1) "Objective": central concept, the scientific (natural-science) procedure; personal equation taken for granted and sought to be eliminated as far as possible.
- (2) "Cultural": central concept, the cultural equation; scientific procedure taken for granted and followed as far as possible.

B. Characteristics of the cultural approach.

- (1) Overriding of model contentual aspects of cultures by the pattern concept.
- (2) Steps in the study of a culture:
  - a. Preliminary comparison of the culture with that of the student's; hence its preliminary classification; hence expectations regarding types of patterns.
  - b. Establishment of patterns. Hypothetical patterns arrived at through observation and tentative interpretation; their immanent interpretation,



- i.e., recording of interpretations given by the members of the culture, plus the establishment of the inter-relatedness of the patterns in such a way as to make possible the understanding and predicting of the culture.
- (3) Methodological elements characterizing the cultural-approach study:
    - a. Presentation of statistically reliable background materials and of the connection between these and the patterns.
    - b. Presentation of patterns and of their immanent interpretation.
    - c. Demonstration of the application of the patterns to individuals, groups, or all members of the culture.
    - d. Demonstration of the connection between the patterns and culture types (cf. B2a); the problems of history and culture change (especially important in the study of folk cultures).
    - e. Demonstration of the adequacy of the patterns for understanding and predicting the culture, by discussion of negative cases and of alternative interpretations of materials and patterns.
    - f. Classification of the culture in terms of types of cultures or of other theories.

## THE SPANISH HERITAGE

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IT is well known that democracy does not flourish in Spanish America today as it does in the United States and in Great Britain. The Spanish-American republics are by and large fairly democratic on paper; for their constitutions call for representative forms of government in which the citizens are supposed to have an effective control of their own destiny. But in fact the countries of Spanish America are governed by techniques which are the very opposite of democratic, and which veil more or less successfully variants of class dictatorship. This generalization may not be true of Costa Rica; and many acquainted with Mexican history and with what the revolution did for the Mexican masses may be inclined to hold that it is utterly untrue of Mexico today. As to Costa Rica I would suspend judgment; but in respect to Mexico there are grounds to believe that elections have little to do with the selection of the chief magistrate, and in Mexico he has much more power than he has in the United States. Be that as it may, the generalization is true of all other Spanish American countries, if not of the two mentioned. They cannot be called democracies because they are ruled by a small but highly self-conscious class, made up of

men who in terms of education and political ability are distinctively superior and who exploit the human and natural resources of the country chiefly for their own benefit.<sup>1</sup>

Now the reasons for this condition of affairs are many and complex and an attempt to discuss them all or even part of them in a short paper would be quite useless. Nor would the writer be equipped to do it. What may therefore be advisable is to select for discussion one of the factors which may have had an important influence in the development and maintenance of the class system in Spanish America. The factor here selected is the Spanish character, in certain of its relevant aspects.

Let us go back to the Spain that stumbled on the new continent in 1492. For in the traits of character displayed by the *conquistadores* we can see clearly the sources of many of the traits displayed by the dominant classes of Spanish America today.

<sup>1</sup>This class is usually thought of in the United States as of "Spanish" blood, and in Spanish America its members are referred to by themselves and those below them as *los blancos*, or "the white ones." But the term *indio* or the term *negro*, like the term *blanco*, are social-economic categories, not ethnic ones.



Spain, it will be remembered, was at the time of the discovery a nation of warriors, of mystics and of saints, but its men of God were as militant in their way as were its Albas or Juan de Austrias in their own profession of arms. For seven centuries before the discovery the Spaniards had spent the greatest part of their energy in constant warfare. This battling had shaped a national character which even to this day has not yet lost the heroic and transcendental orientation that it gained prior to the 16th century. I do not know exactly how Spanish institutions have maintained those attitudes in the peninsula, but of the fact I have no doubt. A facile reference to Spain's failure to enter the main stream of European development certainly does not explain the peculiarities of Spanish character, since it is this very failure that requires explanation. Nor can I see how a reference to economic factors accounts for it. In any case it is a miracle when we consider the rude battling in which the Spaniards engaged for so many centuries that they had any energy left to develop the relatively refined civilization which flourished in the peninsula during the middle ages. But the truth is that neither letters nor the ways of peace nor the ways of industry ever really competed successfully with the forces of war which determined the national character and moulded the values of the Spaniard. Nor has the Spaniard altogether outgrown even yet the heroic values of a feudal society. The habitual bent of his consciousness even today, it would seem, operates on principles which peoples whose character is determined by the objectives of commerce and industry long ago gave up or learned to subordinate.

It is not easy to find abstract terms that will adequately specify those aspects of the Spanish character that I have in mind. I find the English equivalent expressed in Marlowe's work, but this is a rough and inadequate parallel, for there is a radical difference between the heroic type as represented by Marlowe and the Spaniard in respect to their diverse attitudes towards the unfettered mind and towards the other world. Were we to call the Spaniard's character arrogant we

would be condemning it more than describing it. Let us say rather that it is haughty, proud, self-assertive, sensitive in an almost absurd way of an honour for which he lives—these are efforts at characterization that readily come to mind but leave one utterly dissatisfied. Let us say more abstractly that his values center around what to the contemporary Anglo-American must seem an absurdly exaggerated need to exalt the innermost "I" over all else. From this point of view arrogance, pride, and even honour are incidental. Whether this gives any clear idea of what I have in mind or not, in any case, when after centuries of warfare in the peninsula and in the rest of Europe the Spaniard stumbled on a new continent he did not come to it as a man of peace nor as an entrepreneur. Nor did he come to found a new social order in which a philosophic vision of the good could find embodiment. It would have seemed impossible for him to imagine that anything desirable could be achieved except by just realizing himself fully from the inside out. He came as a *conquistador*. The term is significant and it was he who first applied it to himself as an honorific term. He never dreamed of calling himself a *colonizador*. The task of colonizing he was later to undertake and to accomplish exceedingly well in terms of his own objectives, though not in terms of the objectives of the English or the Dutch or even the French. But the role of the colonizer was thrust on him and the attitude he took towards it—his predominant attitude indeed towards everybody and everything except his God, his King and his honour—was one of egregious arrogance.

It is interesting in this respect to note that of the generation of heroes who were the original *conquistadores* and which includes such giants as Cortez, the Pizarros, Alvarado, Cabeza de Vaca, Balboa, Almagro, there is only one who ever attempted to make his men work the land for a living rather than despoil the aborigines as a principal source of livelihood. They did not come to the Indies to work but to realize their dreams, to be *señores*. The conquest of Peru is accomplished by men who have not quite fin-

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ished it when they begin an incredible civil war among themselves for the stakes of power. Each of the warring parties raises the standard of the king but each is clearly fighting for his own ends, obviously because they were men who outside the king could not really submit themselves to any authority unless that authority could compel them through superior force. Cortez was a great statesman, perhaps the only one among the *conquistadores* of superior gifts of statesmanship as well as soldiering. But not even he seems to have had the genius for co-operative living and the ability to submit himself, not to a leader, but to the gentle suasion of impersonal law, of which the meanest of the men who landed on Plymouth Rock gave evidence. The *conquistadores* were heroes on any definition of the word; and they were Christians in their own cruel and uncharitable way. They were democratic in a way in which no Anglo-Saxon settler ever dreamt of being and which today still seems repugnant to the average American citizen. For the Spaniard did not draw the color line in the same way or for the same reasons that the Anglo-Saxon did. He excluded, or tried in vain to exclude, Indians and Negroes from privileges and lucrative employment, and sought to maintain "purity of blood" in order to retain his privileges. But the very concern which he showed during colonial days for "purity of blood" proves—if the patent fact of racial mixture didn't—that on the human plane he was not able to maintain an exclusiveness that on the practical he found profitable for political and economic reasons.<sup>2</sup> Be that as it may, whatever can be said in defense or in praise of him, of one thing certainly no one will accuse him, namely of the capacity to co-operate in a social enterprise, to forget himself and to be

<sup>2</sup> Vallenilla Lanz, *Cesarismo Democrático*. Caracas: 1929, p. 98: "Colocado el español y su descendiente mas o menos puro, *el blanco*, en el vértice de la sociedad colonial, gozando de todos los derechos y prerrogativas, era natural el empeño que tenían las otras clases de comprobar *la limpieza de sangre* para alcanzar los mismos privilegios políticos y sociales que la corona otorgó desde los primeros tiempos a los descendientes de los conquistadores y pobladores. . . ." (Italics in the text.)

led by the conception of a social good rather than by the acknowledged superiority or another's will, identifying his success with the success of something external to himself in which others could make the same identification—the ability which is at the core of what we understand as the good life in our democracy is utterly out of the range of his possibilities. Whatever incentives brought him to America he no sooner landed than he saw the opportunity to become a grand *señor*. Released suddenly from social pressures that prevented him from realizing himself in his own country he grasped the opportunity with unerring instinct. He obtained large *encomiendas* and when he could no longer satisfy his primary lust for glory in the field of battle he settled among his Indians to enjoy the sense of lordship that befits a *conquistador* in his declining years. When Cortez's soldiers, pressed on every side by Aztec warriors, began to flag and the image of defeat and death mocked them in anticipation, Cortez encouraged them in the name of their God, their King, and Glory. But glory came last only in the objective order of value, not in the psychological; in the latter it came last only in the sense in which the last person of the Trinity comes last, for the terms in the minds of Cortez and his hearers were triune, and any one of them without the others was impossible and empty.

Nor is the glory which the *conquistador* pursued a simple object: It meant to him renown, fame, reputation earned in the field of battle against absurd odds. The followers of Cortez, Bernal Diaz tells us, were keenly aware that no other men ever attempted the enterprise which it was theirs to accomplish. But the term "glory" meant much more to him than the term ordinarily connotes even though this more is rather difficult to specify. It meant the exaltation of the ego, and it also meant gold. But that is because the intangible values that he sought to realize could not be achieved unless they were adequately implemented by material means. Without gold a man must needs demean himself by servile work to maintain himself alive, and such a life is literally not worth living.

This last point deserves expansion. Blanco Fombona and others have painted the *conquistador* as a pathologically avaricious man, blinded by his lust for gold. And the behavioral facts undoubtedly fully justify this conception. But the behavioral facts do not give us the whole story which is incomplete unless we consider why he sought gold. For him it was strictly a means. And the end, which of course was more significant than the means, was not economic independence conceived essentially in terms of body comfort and enjoyment but freedom from bondage to other men, freedom from servile relationships, spiritual autarchy, which is achieved only when you are able to say to another man, *a mi no me manda nadie*—no one bosses me; I am lord because I have land and gold and Indians, and I need not beg any favors from you or any one else. And this is no mere literary interpretation. The facts I believe amply sustain it. Consider that the *conquistador* who seemed to be possessed by the fever for gold is not infrequently a younger brother or first cousin of the *hidalgo* who, when he had wasted his patrimony in Spain, would rather starve than work at a servile task. A government pension, a sinecure, some bureaucratic post—these did not dishonor him. But dirtying his hands with servile labor did and death was preferable to it.

A point was made above in passing which deserves some attention in this connection. We have records of expeditions undertaken by the Spaniards into unknown tropical jungles. I am thinking for instance of that undertaken by Cortez into Guatemala, and the first expedition over the Peruvian Andes into the Amazon. We know also what happened to the original Spaniards who tried to settle Buenos Aires and those who attempted the first settlement of Asuncion. In all these cases—and the examples could be easily multiplied—when the Spaniards were faced with starvation it never occurred to them that with small effort they could eke a living out of the land. Outside the case of Valdivia already referred to above their solution when out of supplies was to undertake raiding expeditions to steal food

from the aborigines; that failing they simply sat down and waited for help or died of starvation. The reason is simple. Lords such as they were could never be expected to hit upon the solution which we would arrive at instantly and as a matter of course. The curse of Adam was not for them—some had been exempted from it by their rank and others had left it behind for ever in Spain. And this heritage is still cherished by their children's children in the lands they conquered.<sup>3</sup>

The attitudes brought with them by the *conquistadores* were transmitted to their heirs, who have since then kept themselves fairly distinct as a social class, even if they have not kept themselves as ethnically "pure" as they would like to believe. Increased by subsequent immigrations from Spain and by mixture with aboriginals and slaves, this class has remained, nevertheless, small in number relatively to the masses over which it rules, but it has managed successfully to retain political preeminence and economic control in every Spanish-American country except Mexico. Possessed of superior knowledge, wealth and military power, it does not mean to give up its place easily; and it has, in the social struggle one aptitude which constitutes, as this writer sees it, its chief strength—it possesses the self consciousness of its superiority and the will to, and the prestige of, power. An economic interpretation of history would argue that this habit is to be understood in terms of the ownership of the material resources of society, and here, undoubtedly, the economic interpretation has specious plausibility. But it is well to remember that whatever led the upper classes in Spanish America to gain control of the material resources of their respective countries—and originally of course what led them was the right of conquest—what has enabled them to retain that con-

<sup>3</sup>It might be objected that the *conquistadores* belong to a different class than the Englishmen and the Dutch who settled the north. But the *conquistadores* were recruited from all the classes of society—compare Cortez with the Pizarros. In any case their values were national values, and not class values.



trol is a distinctly psychological complex which now operates in relative independence of the allegedly economic motivations that produced it. For even if we were to assume that it was economic incentive that drove them to achieve control—an assumption which in the light of the preceding considerations can be held to involve a violent oversimplification of the available evidence—it is nevertheless the case that that incentive is today complicated and frequently obstructed by psychological factors that only in the most abstract and dogmatic fashion could be traced to their assumed economic origin.

Now the power gained by the Spaniards through the *conquista* was hard won, and was paid for at no small cost of hardship and blood to themselves. But it would seem that, once won, the Spaniards found in the new world an aboriginal population on whom it was not difficult, once it was vanquished, to impose themselves as masters. I have really no facts to go on, but nevertheless I would like to risk a generalization that, if at all valid, is of considerable importance in understanding why the heirs of the *conquistadores* have managed to retain their place. Visiting Mexican churches and getting a first-hand glimpse of the deep and genuine piety of the Mexican masses, while at the same time reading of the *conquista*, it occurred to me that the Mexican aboriginal's change from their own heathen polytheism to the religion of their conquerors was not, in so far as it has at all taken place, a very difficult matter. The Quakers would have encountered great difficulty where the Jesuits did not. And if the bloody Spanish Christ forbade absolutely that the new converts practise indiscriminate human sacrifice, He did not object to sacrifice altogether, but merely asked of them that they substitute Him for their captives, and replace for the obsidian knife the iron nails which pierce His hands and feet. For his many deities the American aboriginal substituted the saints, but the substitution could have hardly involved a deep psychological transformation. And this, I submit, is also true of his change of temporal masters: the heart of the new

master was as cold and hard as the armor that protected it; the Spaniards were alien and therefore less desirable; they were probably more greedy than their own vanquished lord, but the masses of the aboriginal population were accustomed to submit to masters and therefore the essential psychological structure of their social and political relationship was not radically changed by the *conquista*. The personal relationship between the ruled and the ruler remained. So that whether we are thinking of regions where the Spaniards found a complex social organization or where more simple conditions existed, the demands they made of the masses of the native population differed only in degree from that to which the population was accustomed. Of course it is well known that the American populations did not submit easily. The record of the *conquista* is incredibly bloody and the story is a long one. But when the *conquista* was achieved, or rather to the degree that it was, the aboriginals that were finally forced to submit mixed with the hatred that they had towards their conquerors even at the beginning no small measure of admiration for their superior power.

I have, as I said, no evidence for my hunch but I do know at first hand that the relationship which I have assumed to have existed between aboriginal and Spaniard existed in Gomez' day in Venezuela on the part of the exploited population towards its political masters. One has actually to hear a disinherited Venezuelan say of one of the political *jefes*, *Ese es un chivato* ("That one is a big shot"—but the psychological connotations are not carried of course by the American phrasing) to appreciate how deeply grounded is that admiration. Gomez and his clique were intensely hated but even in those who hated him most intensely it was not difficult to perceive a certain measure of unmistakable respect because Gomez was a real *macho*, a male, *todo un hombre*, in the utterly untranslatable sense in which the Venezuelan uses that word "man." In English of course when the word "man" is used eulogistically it conveys the sense of courage as it does in Spanish. But when a Venezuelan

uses it, it refers to more than courage. It refers to a quality of aggressiveness as well as of defensive courage. When a *jefe civil*, a civil chief, of a small village in the mountains or of an inhabited place in the llanos of Venezuela says, "Gentlemen, here it is I who commands, for here I am the *jefe*," the words may seem intelligible to an American, but they are not for the *jefe civil* does not mean that he "commands" because he is the civil chief, a duly appointed legal authority. He is *jefe civil*—he has the law back of him. But the real law back of him and to which he really makes reference is his *will*. And the attitudes and emotions which his words express to the Venezuelan mind could never be conveyed in English in abstract terms and could only be expressed by a novelist and in very inadequate terms at that. And note that the eulogistic connotations which the word *man* has for the Venezuelan it has also in other Spanish-American countries.<sup>4</sup> Not long ago, talking with a group of leftists in Mexico City about Cardenas, I was shocked during the discussion when I realized that my host and his friends, in spite of their political sophistication and their obvious Marxist leanings, believed in Cardenas not so much because Cardenas represented certain interests and stood for certain ideals but fundamentally because he was a strong man, a man of courage, a man whom they respected because he was capable of holding in check the disruptive forces of their nation.

There is another phrase which I used to hear as a youngster in Venezuela and which deserves our attention. The phrase is *por orden superior*—"boss' orders." The phrase is not altogether unknown in this country and very likely there is an equivalent to be found for it in every language. But in Venezuela one used to hear it everywhere—in school, in the street, at work and on the part of the servants at home as an equivalent of "your father says." A Venezuelan does not

take to a command thus given any more kindly than an American does since its essence is arbitrariness. But his reaction to it is quite different from ours in this country. His reaction is rebellion which, if successful reverses the roles. When I started off in the public schools of New York I remember vividly that one of the things that impressed me was the attitude of essential friendliness between teachers and students. In Caracas as a child I went to one of the best private schools of that day. And yet we used to go on strike once a year for no reason at all, for we had no specific grievances. Or perhaps better, for a very good reason indeed, since we were training ourselves for life and had to learn early how to rebel against constituted authority. I have a hunch that our teachers would have been contemptuous of us if we had not shown them by such acts of gratuitous rebellion that we were "men" and could resist them. For just as the citizen needs to express his will against authority so also must authority encounter resistance or the exercise of power would not be worth while. What I am trying to bring out is that a people at the nucleus of whose character is to be found need for personal dominion and its converse, admiration and respect for those who can achieve such dominion, is not a people likely to submit to the suasion of impersonal law, and I take it as of course that without that the techniques of political representation and the power of a democratic constitution are bound to remain, as they do in South America, inert in the books into which they were put by those who framed them.

The values we have been discussing are sustained by deeply rooted habits, institutions and customs and this complex phenomenon not only helps to explain the failure of democracy in South America but it also helps to explain something else which I believe it would be of interest for us to consider. Latin Americans have not yet distinguished themselves in the world of science, but that failure is not due to the lack of wealth and leisure or lack of need for science. I believe that in part at least the lack is to be traced to what in this paper has been

<sup>4</sup>Samuel Ramos, *El perfil del hombre y la cultura en México*. Mexico: 1938, pp. 75 ff. Ramos is interested in explaining the value put on manliness psychoanalytically. I am concerned with describing the fact only.

called their character. The South American has intellectual curiosity and in the field of literature and poetry need not be ashamed of his contribution to the heritage of the West. But his philosophical and scientific contributions are negligible because he has no essential interest in the objective aspects of the world nor has he any respect for the manipulative techniques which must be acquired before we can have a highly developed science. The power with which science rewards those who pursue it is the reward of essential de-personalization and humility. I am not trying to suggest that a mind like that of Edison or, at a higher level, like that of Michelson, can be simply explained by referring it to mechanical aptitudes and vague psychological patterns of response. But I do suggest that achievement in science depends partly on a cultural climate which is made up of a very complex constellation of interests and values and that without these intellectual curiosity however vigorous will not be challenged by the problems of theory.

Now this observation regarding science is not so irrelevant as it might seem on its face. One often hears it said that with the technological development of South America, a development which will take place by a process not always clearly explained, democracy will inevitably follow. But it would seem that before a technological culture could fully develop in South America which would be its own and which would not borrow its scientific knowledge and its machinery from already industrialized countries, at least one of two conditions would have to be met: either the masses would have to achieve economic freedom and with it create the opportunity to demonstrate their aptitudes for carrying on the work of theory and research presupposed by an industrial society, or the psychology of the educated classes of South America would have to change considerably. Neither of the two alternatives seems at the moment probable.

It was stated above that the attitudes of the *conquistadores* are still alive in an important and powerful section of the population of Spanish-America and the contention of

this paper is that so long as these attitudes remain operative the possibility of genuine democracy below the border is rather remote. Now, in closing, I would like to illustrate through two personal anecdotes the way in which those attitudes are to be found in the ruling class of Venezuela. It is a very far cry, I am aware, from the egregious pride of the Spaniard to the attitudes expressed by the hero-villains of my two stories. But one need not assume that those traits of the Spanish character in which consists the heritage of the *conquistadores* have been transmitted unchanged. Their heirs today are not men of the same stature, neither on the plane of action nor on the moral plane. But they do retain something of their heritage unimpaired and part of that which they retain is the deep unreasoned conviction that the country belongs to them to exploit for their own benefit.

The first of my stories is about a boy of eighteen years of age who was passionately interested in the efforts of the Venezuelan exiles to get rid of the Gomez dictatorship. The chief subject of serious conversation between his friends and himself was what they would do on the day—they thought it was imminent—when Gomez would be pulled down from power by the force of exiles' arms. But one day this boy ran into one of the chief lieutenants of his chosen leader. And the usual conversation about Venezuela followed in which suddenly his interlocuter made the following statement: "My dear chap," he said "it is time you quit fooling yourself with silly dreams. The reason I go with 'the General' and risk my hide is that when he takes over I know he will let me exploit the situation and will let me make my *dinerito*, my little money, whereas Gomez doesn't let anyone but his own relatives and his friends enjoy the country."

Later on the same boy, now a man nearing thirty, went to Venezuela to visit his family. Gomez was still in absolute control. The country was being bled white by Gomez' cruelty and greed. One day our young man met a man just returned from France where he had served as Venezuelan consul for many years. Because his many years outside



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of Venezuela had made him forget the timorous discretion which was necessary to get along in a country seething with Gomez's spies, he was loud and free in his criticism of the dictatorship. But what he disapproved of was not the miserable condition of the masses, the utter lack of personal freedom of the citizen, the nastiness and distrust with which Gomez' despotism had poisoned private life, the fact that the jails were crowded with political prisoners who were being tortured and killed arbitrarily, the fact that Gomez had sold the natural resources of the country to foreign interests for practically nothing. No, his anger sprang from a different resentment and he expressed it with utter frankness. Gomez, he complained, had the wrong attitude towards those for whose benefit the country should be run. Gomez' generals and their friends were getting hold of every important political post and the respectable men to whom the management belonged by tradition were sinking in poverty.

Is this a ghastly picture? I have taken two extreme instances of an attitude that is general and subconscious among the members of the ruling class of Venezuela, but that attitude is ordinarily complicated by professions of patriotism which prevent it from expressing itself as frankly as it does in my examples. It must also be considered that a factor has been isolated which is taken to be decisive for our problem but it would be highly misleading to take it to represent the total picture of the complex of values which find embodiment in the cultures below the

Rio Grande. I have not tried to give a complete picture and other facts and forces in interplay with those here emphasized make up a life which, when seen internally in terms of its own objectives and orientations, offers those who live it its own compensations and satisfactions. It is not a life that a student of Aristotle or a spiritual heir of Jefferson could approve of. But it emphatically has its own compensations and satisfactions and a sociologist cannot condemn it nor can he feel that an effort to understand it is a condemnation without abandoning his standpoint as a scientist. South-American life lacks qualities that ours has but it has dimensions of heroism and of tragedy which give it a significance and an intensity which a people of an industrialized country, dedicated to the realization of body-comfort and animal well-being and dedicated to the worship of mechanical gadgets, are all the poorer for not having. We cannot condemn one culture without condemning the other. And it would seem that we have enough trouble grasping the picture of South-American life at the purely descriptive level without indulging in the expression of our own parochial preferences. In any case I have sought to call attention to factors which bear to the total picture of South-American culture about the same relation that the blue-print of a carburetor bears to the complete drawing of an internal combustion engine and it is not intended to be taken as an exhaustive or fair representation of the whole.

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## THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY IN MIDDLE AMERICA

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NO ONE of the philosophers and analysts who speak and write so much of Democracy can tell us what the normal North American means by the word. Probably the concept includes, first, popular government—of, by, and for the people; second, individual freedom to believe and speak as one's conscience dictates, and the right to change the form as well as the personnel of government by legal means; third, social equality in which neither race nor creed makes a difference; and fourth, equality of economic opportunity which opposes the formation of immobile classes in matters of making a living, and in a more positive way—and more recently—recognizes the responsibility of society for the physical well-being of its every member. All that and perhaps more we identify with the ideal of democracy. It is part of our culture, and we are willing to fight to defend and perhaps to extend it. It may be considered a complex of belief and ideal corresponding to analogous culture complexes in other societies. That our institutions and practices do not always fulfil the ideal is something else again. Our government in practice is not quite of, by, and for the people; the press and radio are not quite as free as we like to think; all men in our country, regardless of racial or national origin, are not always treated as though they were equal; and equality of economic opportunity is at best limited. But here again we deal with a phenomenon well-known to students of human culture and society: a discrepancy between belief and practice, between ideal and custom, between commonly accepted *notions* of what is and ought to be on the one hand, and what actually is on the other.

But the belief, the ideal, the notion of what is and ought to be is itself a vital part of the culture. When the discrepancy between the ideal and the practice is more than normally great, it usually means that one or the other

is undergoing revolutionary change. However valid that may be, it remains true that when we treat of Democracy, we are dealing not only with a set of political and economic and social institutions, but also with a complex of belief and ideal that is crystallized and expressed in the word. The fact of its existence is itself significant. It may be suggested, further, that there is more to Democracy-as-we-understand-it than a set of ideals on the one hand and of formal institutions on the other. There is also what we call "the democratic way"—the democratic way of behaving in our personal and social and political and economic relations. It is a way of life, almost an etiquette, and I think we rightly conceive that it is what makes possible the translation of the ideal into practice.

To judge the degree to which our neighbors to the South are democratic, or to determine how they can be made more democratic, on our standard of democracy, one must ask first if in their cultures they have this complex of belief and ideal; second, the degree to which their institutions approach that ideal; and third, the degree to which they behave in what is our notion of a democratic way.

To answer these questions, a major difference between our country and many of those to the South must be understood. In the United States, for all the social differences to be found within it, for all the distinction between "the classes" and "the masses," between the intellectuals and the common people, there is an essential political and intellectual homogeneity. Virtually all of our people belong to one social, political, and intellectual system. This becomes evident by contrast with countries like Mexico and Guatemala where there is a cleavage between a relatively few people who identify themselves with the nation as such, who read newspapers and magazines and listen to the

radio and who partake in other ways of the civilization of the world, and a great many people who have little conception even that a "Mexico" or a "Guatemala" exists, who frequently do not even speak the national language (they are Indians), who are illiterate, and to whom all but their immediate environs are as distant as Mars and all but the traditional ideas of their own small cultures as distant as Confucius or Copernicus. Of the three million-odd people of Guatemala, only a few hundred thousand have knowledge of the world in which we live. The rest are simple folk isolated not only from the problems of the world, but from the intellectual currents in their own country. In Mexico one of the great social problems is recognized to be the "incorporation" of the masses of folk peoples into the nation.

So the two kinds of people require special treatment in this discussion. It would be a rare coincidence to find that the masses of isolated folk have a democratic belief-complex like our own; and of course they do not have. But it is still possible that their way of life and their local institutions are essentially democratic; and that possibility I shall now briefly examine.

Let us look at an Indian community in Guatemala where I have spent some time—a community representative of a great number of similar communities in Guatemala and Mexico. The native conception of the political system of this town is that it is the duty of every man to give a certain amount of his time and money to care for its civic and religious needs. Men pass through a hierarchy of offices during their adult lives, and when they emerge from the highest office they are considered elders of the community. These elders choose the officials each year and exert pressure on the candidates to accept. The offices are unpaid, requiring rather an expenditure of considerable time and money. A family that has an officeholder one year has the right to a year, or two or three years, of rest, after which it can expect to be assigned another office. A man is free from being "molested" only after he has passed over the last rung of the ladder. There are personal compensations, of course—the feel-

ing of doing one's duty, the interesting life of an office-holder as relief from the humdrum existence of the work-a-day world, and the prestige that comes with the higher offices—and men doubtless prefer to go up the ladder as quickly as possible. The wealthy, who can afford speed in this respect, make less fuss when they are appointed than do the poor, who plead poverty and avoid serving as long as they can. If a man is finally chosen, however, he is forced to serve, and in the native system he goes to jail if he refuses.

In effect, the people "take turns" in serving the community. The obligations in some degree reflect "ability to pay," but then a poor man takes longer to achieve a position of respect and freedom than does a rich man. Given the system itself, I suppose the distribution of work and expense is reasonably equitable. That does not make it necessarily "democratic." The crucial question concerns the mechanisms by which the system is supported and continued. The first answer is that it is supported by tradition: this kind of fulfilment of obligation and distribution of expense is the way of the ancestors from time immemorial, and in general questions of its rightness or wrongness are not raised. The second and perhaps more pertinent answer is that the elders maintain the system. Indians frequently object to the expenses to which they are put and wish that some of the requirements could be lowered. Instead of a barrel of liquor for a certain ceremony, why not only a half-barrel? But the elders point out that *they* went through these offices, and had these expenses, and now the younger men should not be slack in their duty. The system may be traditional, but the tradition is enforced in large degree by the elders. These elders are not chosen by the people any more than children choose their parents. Nor do they "represent" the people. But at the same time they are hardly tyrants or despots; they do whatever they do, not for themselves, but for the community and its traditions. And, of course, every man can expect to be one of the elders himself some day.

In the native system, which is modified

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in practice by the larger government of Guatemala, justice and administrative functions are performed by officials of the same hierarchy, men on rungs of the ladder. Most men get their turns at these offices too, and are for the time highly respected—that is one of the compensations for the time and money it takes to hold the offices. When a member of the community accuses another before the judges, the judges have final authority and for petty offenses can fine or jail one or both parties. In a community this size there is no question of civil liberties, unwarranted detention, and so on. The accuser faces the accused and witnesses are called. The procedure is both simple and what we would call democratic; but it is really the democracy of the baseball diamond, where the umpire's decision is final and where the players have nothing to say about the rules on which it is based.

It is difficult to apply concepts of democracy in such a community. After all, our notion of democracy grew up in response to a condition where large political entities controlled by princes, nobles, and a priesthood, exploited the masses of people and were themselves supported by the labor of others. It was to break such a system that concepts of civil liberties, rights of man, and rule by the people grew up. The small societies such as the one I have now described are "democratic," insofar as they are democratic, only in the negative sense that they contain few of the evils that democracy combats. It therefore seems not very profitable to think of the communities in Mexico and Guatemala whose people make up the masses of those countries as "essentially democratic" in their institutions or their way of life.

In any event, if our kind of democracy is to come to Mexico or Guatemala, it will probably come through the agency of the small, educated, politically-conscious, and economically-able minority. We can more profitably ask our questions of those who partake of national and world culture, who are the social, political and intellectual leaders of their countries. In one sense, these people *are* those countries—the sense in which we can speak of "Mexican opinion"

or "Guatemalan adhesion to the United Nations."

An examination of what they write and how they speak, and the legal institutions that these leaders have developed, shows beyond doubt that what I have called the belief-complex of Democracy is present in their culture no less than in our own. Popular representative government, republican in form, the usual civil liberties, and equality of all men, are written into the constitutions of the countries to the South of us no less than into our own. Indeed, in some respects they go much farther than we do; the current Constitution of Mexico goes much farther than we have yet gone in the protection of labor and the recognition of collective responsibility for the economic well-being of the masses of citizens. Yes, democracy in theory is certainly largely present in the nations of Latin America, in the minds of the intellectuals and in the legal institutions that they have influenced and that they control.

When one comes to discuss the faithfulness with which the actual organization and institutions of these countries reflects the theory, distinctions must be made among them. Some are much more democratic than others, and some are much more or less democratic from one revolution to another. Little Costa Rica has been called one of the purest democracies in the world, and at least it does seem to hold regular and relatively free elections. Between Mexico and Guatemala, at least until October of 1944, the difference has been very great. During his twelve-year tenure of office, Guatemala's President Ubico was a strong dictator with a penchant for bureaucratic honesty, law and order, and fatherly assistance to the Indians. He supported no particular ideology, although he paid allegiance to the word Democracy, and he minded little what people said or wrote or did provided that they did not threaten his position—in which case the civil liberties clauses of the constitution were brushed aside and the offender apt to be shot out of hand. The constitution was amended periodically to permit Ubico to be reelected. Consequently, there were no "politics" in Guatemala, although there were formal elec-

tions in which only one slate of candidates was presented. People were afraid to say anything that could be interpreted as political, for government spies were supposed to be everywhere. On the other hand, some important reforms were instituted, and the Indians seemed to adore their paternalistic President; at the same time, peace, law, order, and a balanced budget gave the administration every appearance of success.

On the other hand, in Mexico during recent years there has been great personal freedom that amounts at times almost to license. Law and order are not strong points, and graft pervades the bureaucracy. The elections tend to be real, and are taken seriously by those who are politically conscious. Political democracy since the Revolution (1910) has become something of a fetish, and where we sign a letter with "Yours truly" the Mexican is apt to write "Universal suffrage, no re-election." Mexico has been actively engaged in putting into effect its democratic ideal.

Guatemala, too, in the last few months has been striving in that direction. A leading revolutionary leader recently made clear to me that the movement is neither a social nor an economic revolution, but a reflection of the disgust of liberals with the fraud of using democratic forms to support non-democratic institutions. They want to drop the make-believe and get some of the freedom and political power that has always been said to reside in the people.

But it must be pointed out that both in Mexico and in Guatemala, as in many other countries of Latin America, whatever democracy there is diminishes as one goes from the literate "participating" groups, especially in the cities, to the illiterate masses. Even Mexico's relatively free elections have little meaning in the Indian country. I recently spent some months in Chiapas, the State of Mexico farthest from the center. The people of the interior of the state are chiefly Indians much like those I described for Guatemala; Mexico to almost all of them is a far away country as vague as Tibet is to us. The Indians vote for President and for members of the national and state assemblies, but they

know nothing of what they vote for and it is a matter purely of routine. Local political bosses are able completely to control their votes—not their opinions, for the Indians do not form relevant opinions. Democracy has not come to the region. I may cite an illustrative incident.

Mexican and State law both forbid any kind of forced labor; yet locally it is understood that people can be forced to work on the roads, usually for pay. In the nearby metropolis lives a political boss who controls all of the communities of the neighborhood, including the one in which we were living; and while we were there the local Indian officials were continually asked by the boss to round up Indians to work on the roads. The officials did not like the task, but said they had no choice; the mayor told us that if he shouldn't succeed in recruiting the laborers he would go to jail. A crisis arose on the last day of our stay. A fiesta was in progress and the Indian officials had to participate ceremonially; not only that, but they enjoy fiestas and wanted to be there. At the town hall that Friday morning, they were perturbed because the boss had demanded their presence in the metropolis—to receive orders to recruit laborers for the following Monday. They didn't want to go, and knew besides that the task would be impossible. I suggested that they telephone the boss rather than go to the city afoot. After some convincing, for they had never used the telephone that had been installed for many years, the most progressive of the officials followed this counsel. The others gathered around to listen to the conversation (which was carried on in the Indian language). The news at the end was very bad—not because they were not excused from going to the city but because they found that they were expected to recruit the laborers without even the promise of payment. They were dismayed, for they foresaw clearly the unpleasantness of the task of finding Indians who would leave their fields to work for nothing.

It happened that an hour later, the Governor of the State came through in his automobile, and he came out to the fiesta grounds

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—accompanied by the local officials and by me—for a short visit. I knew him well enough to inform him of the road situation, and he immediately called the Indian officials to him and told them very clearly that it was his order that they should not work for anybody without proper payment—and he emphasized the point by using the name of the boss involved. I thought that the Indians would be jubilant; but they were not, and I have little doubt but that this sort of thing had happened to them so frequently in the past that they knew that in the long run their situation would remain the same.

The visit of the Governor that day showed something else that is to the point here. In Guatemala President Ubico annually toured the hinterland; his caravan passed through towns more or less unexpectedly, and he made cursory examinations in the town halls and heard complaints. An Indian (or anybody else) would come up and point out a grievance, and the President issued his judgment on the spot, and appropriate orders to have it carried out. Sometimes the departure of the President found a bullying officeholder in jail. Thus the common people could air grievances to the highest authority and get results. But it must be pointed out that "justice" was not necessarily involved. Now we found that in Chiapas the same paternalistic system is in vogue. The Governor that day acted immediately on a few complaints and requests. In one case a young man in Indian costume presented a plea to be sent to school, and the sympathetic Governor had his secretary give him a banknote from the fat roll kept for the purpose. We happened to know that the young man was a ne'er-do-well who needed some pocket money and had masqueraded as an Indian for the occasion. In another case a young Indian friend of ours was made a school teacher on the spot by the Governor; he was in his fourth year and requested to be sent to a more advanced school, but the Governor would make any fourth-grade Indian a teacher. The boy is barely literate. The idea of a chief executive dispensing justice and giving jobs in this off-hand manner shows how far from legal and orderly democratic administration this region of Mexico is.

I do not want to minimize the importance of the differences between Mexico and Guatemala, or between Guatemala of last year and of next year. Yet it seems to me that the differences do not go deep in their culture and sociology. In both places, and perhaps in most of Latin America, there is, in the "incorporated" class of leaders about whom I am now speaking, an individualism that goes far beyond our kind of individualism. It has been noted among the Spanish, too, and it may well be a Spanish contribution to Latin American culture. They do not take well to regimentation, on the one hand, or to co-operative enterprises on the other. Together with their individualism, there seems to be a tendency to expect constituted authority to manage the least details of daily life. These two elements are apparently contradictory, but it may be that the development of a bureaucracy to take care of everything permits the individual a large measure of freedom from responsibility. I recall a report from Argentina explaining that the people do not care what government policies are as long as they can go their ways unrestrained. In Guatemala until recently the one tendency was clearly dominant and in certain directions individualism suffered severely. In Mexico, on the other hand, the people pay for their freedom with bad government; in Mexico the rule seems to be every man for himself, with the consequences that one expects. The revolution in Guatemala clearly upsets the balance achieved under Ubico: it is designed to give greater freedom, but it seems unlikely that there will be no corresponding loss of order.

We have a hint, now, of how the basic "way of life" in the countries to the South differ from our own. I think I can illustrate the difference by reference to a recent experience. A year or two ago I had occasion to teach in a graduate school of anthropology in Mexico City, and at the end of the course nine of the students accompanied me to the small Indian town in Chiapas that I have mentioned. I was to teach them how to obtain reliable and significant information about Indian culture. Four of the students were Mexicans; one was a Venezuelan, another a Cuban, another a Spaniard, and the



last two were from Sweden and California—but these turned out to have been quite acculturated to the Mexican way of life. Most of the people were mature, some with advanced degrees. All were "liberals" and two or three considerably farther left in their political ideas.

I knew that in the academic system in which these students had grown up, teachers and administrators are socially isolated from their students and dictatorial in their methods. I knew that the students do not like this system; strikes of students against the faculty and administration are relatively frequent. Of course my own background disposed me to another kind of relationship with my students. We would go into the field together and run our group in democratic fashion. The only distinction of teacher and student would be based on the fact that I happened to know some things that they were anxious, or at least willing, to learn. I told all this to the students before we left, and I encouraged them to organize our party along democratic lines, with each student in charge of one thing or other. It never occurred to me that this might not work better than if I were to dictate every item of policy in the administration of our little community.

Yet, what turns out to have been a little experiment shows that I was wrong. In our social relations there occurred crisis after crisis, and it took us no less than four of our seven weeks in the field to achieve any sort of *modus vivendi*. Even after that things didn't run too smoothly. I know that had I taken a group of North Americans into the field in the same way—boy scouts, high school students, or graduate students—the members would have adopted rules for living and working together and would have enforced them. They would have expected me to be, perhaps, an arbiter on occasion; but the ordinary routine of daily life they would have taken as their own responsibility. What happened in Chiapas, on the other hand, is that the students kept agreeing to run themselves, but never did a thing about it.

For example: Since we were living together, we needed some simple rules about meal hours. On my suggestion (since it turned out that the students never took the

initiative) a meeting decided on a daily schedule. Among other things, we were to rise at seven to breakfast at 7:30 in order to begin work at eight. I did not order this; the group voted on it and agreed on the hours. But as far as the students were concerned, that is as far as it ever went. The industrious ones rose on time (as they would have without an agreement) and the lazy ones stayed in bed. For a few days I said nothing, wondering when they would think of enforcing their rule. They never did, so in another meeting I said that I didn't intend to be a policeman and that they should figure out what mechanisms of collective responsibility they wished to use. They agreed willingly, and I thought they were finally understanding what I was getting at. But again, and much to my surprise, the lazy ones continued to sleep and nothing whatever was done. I more or less gave up, then—there were more important issues. But to finish the story, there are two items to add. First, I learned from the students themselves that when they went to the field with one of their usual professors, to learn how to do archaeology, he lived apart from his students and sent a truck for them sharply at 7:30 in the morning, and every one of them would be up and breakfasted by that time. But the usual professor didn't *ask* them about time schedules; he *told* them. The second item is this: when our season was ended, we decided to rise at six in the morning in order to make the long journey to the railway station in time to catch the evening train. I was curious about how this decision—which was clearly in the interests of all—would be enforced. I asked the industrious student who had assumed some leadership in the group, and he replied, "Oh, if somebody doesn't get up, I'll take off his blankets and make him get up!" I couldn't resist the temptation to ask, then, why he and the other industrious ones had not done this in the weeks gone by. He was shocked at the thought: the sleepers would have become very angry and would not have permitted it.

It became apparent to me that my students not only had no notion of group initiative and self-government, but that the idea of collective responsibility—in practice—was

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foreign to them. This despite some communist tendencies. Curiously, the only time any initiative was shown was when, one day, the students held a secret meeting in the Church and drew up a polite list of demands that they later presented to me. The demands were very reasonable—about things I had expected them to decide for themselves. In the discussion that followed, I thought I finally understood the difference between their ways and ours. They were simply unable to grasp the idea that they were permitted, even expected, to govern themselves. Petitions of the kind they drew up are associated with kings and dictators, and employers; they are the defense of the people against some high authority with whom they must fight for privileges.

What makes this little experience significant—for after all I may be only a poor boy scout leader—is that when we returned to Mexico City, and I discussed it with Mexican friends, they were not in the least surprised. The head of the school, who knows North America well, told me that he knew before we left that I would have just the difficulties I did have with the democratic order I proposed; he had not said anything because he had wanted me to see for myself. He added that he was himself a dictator in the school only because he found it necessary. A prominent historian in the school, with whom I discussed my experience, explained that throughout the Colonial period the kings of Spain had, from far-off Madrid, taken care of every little detail of administration in America, and that the tradition in Latin America is such that the people depend upon somebody to tell them what to do and to enforce his decisions. I had learned, in other words, what my Mexican friends take for granted.

The difference between Latin and North American cultures that I have suggested seems to go deep. It probably starts in the family system itself, in the manner of raising children. I have frequently noticed how well behaved are the children of my educated friends in Mexico. Almost from the day they can stand up they rise politely when adults enter the room; almost from the day

they can talk, they respond very formally to a greeting with their full names and an "at your service." There appears to be almost instant obedience to parent and teacher. A Guatemalan friend who has been in Chicago for several years has similarly noted the striking difference in the way children are raised. He points out that from the beginning we tend to give children choices, to reason with them. In Latin America, to the contrary, the child is told what to do—and his not to question why. The practice in our schools, likewise, is to train children not only to think for themselves, and to make decisions, but to organize themselves into clubs of one kind or other. They early become imbued with notions and methods of group initiative and discipline. In contrast, the schools of Latin America carry on the type of training begun at home. Not only in the primary and secondary schools, but even in graduate schools of universities, the teacher conceives it his duty to tell the student, not to ask him; and of course in the Universities the result is sometimes rebellion which takes the form of petitions, politics, and strikes. When students organize, they organize against somebody or against some system of regulation; and it is not surprising that the same pattern is carried into adult political life where the leaders are typically found plotting against the powers-that-be.

So we find that the minority of people in the countries to the South who are politically aware—the leaders—are "democratic" on the level of theory or pure belief in much the same way that we are. But we find that their institutions are, even much more than ours, far from what we think of as democratic. And it seems reasonable to suggest that one of the reasons is that the culture that has developed in Latin America does not provide what we think of as the democratic way of behaving in social life. To conclude from this suggestion that the fulfilment of the democratic ideal is practically more difficult there than here is to lose sight of the fact, however, that the United States brand of Democracy is hardly the only one possible. However the reality of our political system departs from it, our mental utopia pictures

our democracy as a sort of spontaneous co-operative enterprise. If it comes, Latin American democracy, on the other hand, is apt to be achieved rather in terms of a balance between a sort of paternal authoritarianism and an unwilling electorate in a state of permanent potential rebellion. The people, demanding to be led, will set up leaders whose exercise of power will be limited strictly to what he finds—under the permanent threat of revolution—they will permit him to do. It is probably significant that the new constitution of Guatemala will likely safeguard explicitly, and attempt to implement, a "right of revolution."

From the point of view of these countries of Latin America, the most difficult problem in achieving democracy may therefore be not its lack of a tradition of what we think of as the "democratic way" but rather the folk-

like character of the greater part of the population. Before there can be a democratic nation, there must be a nation; before all people can have equal opportunity in the economic and social system, they must be part of one system. These conditions, in Mexico and most of Central America, are not now met. As in a colonial situation, the ruling groups are largely of one cultural tradition, the ruled masses of another. The Few are part of the Great Society, the Many of a large number of different and parochial small societies. It is only the Few to whom democracy is even a stated end, and unlike the native leaders in colonial countries in which outside interference gives impetus to nationalist movements among the folk, those here will have to "incorporate" the masses into the national culture with no help from these masses.

## CULTURE, GENUINE AND SPURIOUS: A RE-EVALUATION

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IT is the intent of this paper to investigate whether the inclusion of certain value premises in social theory can guide scientific research into areas of significant problems. Toward this end it is proposed here to attach value connotations to the familiar conceptual categories of "folk culture"<sup>1</sup> and "secular culture." The evaluations to be added are those implied in the distinction made by Edward Sapir between genuine and spurious cultures.

The importance of the proposed investigation is indicated by the fact that most of the cultures which would be judged genuine by Sapir's criteria likewise fulfil the qualifi-

cations by which a culture is identified as folk; and, those characteristics of a culture which render it spurious in Sapir's sense of the term are precisely some of the attributes which we have come to consider as necessary consequences of the secularization of a society.

This correspondence of folk with genuine and secular with spurious attributes as yet has not been explicitly noted in the literature. It still has the status of one of several possible value judgments which could be made on the basis of the explicitly formulated correspondence between folk and organized and secular and disorganized cultures.

It is the object here to formulate this implied value judgment into an explicit hypothesis to the effect that: "To the degree that a culture is folk it is also genuine; and, to the degree that a culture departs from its folk attributes, to that degree is it moving toward a condition of spuriousness." This hypothesis will be tested, with reference to

<sup>1</sup> For a thorough-going analysis of the content of these categories, see Robert Redfield's *Folk Culture of Yucatan*. University of Chicago Press, 1941. There is considerable question as to whether the categories are simply convenient classifications, or whether a consequence of their use is the indication of areas of crucial problems. Part of the intent of this paper is to erase some of the doubt about the use-value of these categories by rendering them unambiguously directive of research into important problems.

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both its empirical validity and its use-value in the indication of significant areas of research, by measuring two cultures against each other with a set of criteria jointly composed of "folk-secular" and "genuine-spurious" distinctions.

Because of their currency in the literature no time need be spent in detailing the content of the folk-secular categories. But it may be in place, before proceeding with the testing of the hypothesis, to refresh the reader's memory as to the meaning which Sapir attached to his terms "genuine" and "spurious."

Writing in the *American Journal of Sociology*,<sup>2</sup> for January 1924, Sapir said:

The genuine culture is not of necessity either high or low; it is merely inherently harmonious, balanced, self-satisfactory. It is the expression of a richly varied and yet somehow unified and consistent attitude toward life, an attitude which sees the significance of any one element of civilization in its relation to all others. It is, ideally speaking, a culture in which nothing is spiritually meaningless, in which no important part of the general functioning brings with it a sense of frustration, of misdirected or unsympathetic effort. . . .

It should be clearly understood that this ideal of a genuine culture has no necessary connection with what we call efficiency. A society may be admirably efficient in the sense that all its activities are carefully planned with reference to ends of maximum utility to the society as a whole, it may tolerate no lost motion, yet it may well be an inferior organism as a culture bearer. . . . The major activities of the individual [in a genuine culture] must directly satisfy his own creative and emotional impulses, must always be something more than a means to an end. The telephone girl who lends her capacities during the greater part of the living day to the manipulation of a technical routine that has an eventually high efficiency value but that answers to no spiritual needs of her own is an appalling sacrifice to civilization. As a solution of the problem of culture she is a failure—the more dismal the greater her natural endowment. . . . The American Indian who solves the economic problem with salmon-spear and rabbit-snare operates on a relatively low level of civil-

ization, but he represents and incomparably higher solution than our telephone girl of the questions that culture has to ask of economics. . . . The Indian's salmon spearing is a culturally higher type of activity than that of the telephone girl or mill hand simply because there is normally no sense of spiritual frustration during its prosecution, no feeling of subservience to tyrannical yet largely inchoate demands, because it works in naturally with all the rest of the Indian's activities instead of standing out as a desert patch of merely economic effort in the whole of life. . . . A genuine culture cannot be defined as a sum of abstractly desirable ends, as a mechanism. . . . A culture that does not build itself out of the central interests and desires of its bearers that, works from general ends to the individual, is an external culture. . . . The genuine culture is internal, it works from the individual to ends.<sup>3</sup>

It is now proposed to use these distinctions and those which describe the folk and urban types of culture in a comparison of the culture of the masses with that of the classes of Guatemala.

For the purposes of this paper the term "classes" will be used to refer to that one-third portion of the population of Guatemala which views itself and is treated as white, non-Indian, Ladino, and the term "masses" is to be understood as referring to that two-thirds portion of the population which views itself and is treated as Indian.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 410-12.

<sup>4</sup> This writer has little justification for talking about Guatemala as a whole. Such personal familiarity as he has with the country is limited almost exclusively to a small rural district, called San Luis Jilotepeque, lying about 90 miles due east of Guatemala City and containing some 5,000 Indians and 2,500 Ladinos. Reports from other sections of the country indicate that it is highly debatable whether the observations of this student—gathered during the course of a nine-months field trip—are pertinent for the country as a whole. Most particularly may be noted the current ambiguity about the social relations between Ladinos and Indians, with special reference to the problem as to whether the distinction between the two groups is one which may properly be called racial, and at least in part seen as equivalent with the negro-white situation in this country, or whether the distinction which the people themselves make is largely based on differences in culture patterns alone. Those who incline to a refined version of the former view—

<sup>2</sup> Edward Sapir, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious." Vol. XXIX, No. 4.

With the certain exception of Guatemala City, which is more like Detroit than like almost any other place in Guatemala, and with the possible exception of one or two of the largest towns in the country, Guatemala may be described as essentially agricultural and rural. This applies equally as well to the west of the country where native Indian culture is rather well preserved as it does to the east of the country where native Indian culture has been so fused with the products of 400 years of Spanish conquest that eastern Indian living may be properly viewed as a transitional stage between the Indian culture of the west and Ladino culture of Guatemala in general.<sup>5</sup>

Once this difference between various Indian groups has been indicated, however, it needs to be asserted that, so far as is demonstrable, all Indian groups, no matter in what part of the country, are more alike each other than is any of them like any Ladino group. It is this fact which necessitates a specification of at least two distinct culture patterns in Guatemala.

This distinction between ways of life is, for reasons about to be stated—approximately coterminous with the distinction be-

including this student—see the relations between Indian and Ladino as essentially a caste system, whereas those who incline chiefly to the latter view—including principally Drs. Redfield and Tax—are inclined to believe that an Indian can become fully accepted as a Ladino by assuming Ladino patterns of behavior. However, except as evidence that generalizations for the country as a whole may not safely be made from the study of one limited area, this difference of opinion has no relevance to the point under consideration here. All students of Guatemala—no matter what their views about the nature of the system of social relationships—are in agreement that any effective description of Guatemala requires the detailed specification of at least two fairly distinct ways of life which for convenience may here be labeled Indian and Ladino.

<sup>5</sup> Why there should have been such marked differences in the resistances and adaptations to acculturating forces, especially since it appears that the acculturating agents and the peoples effected were not significantly different from one section of the country to another—is a problem which continues to plague students of Latin America—more especially since we are accustomed to thinking in terms of platitudinous acculturation equations.

tween classes and masses. This latter distinction is suggested by the fact that in Ladino society socio-economic class distinctions are of paramount importance, whereas in Indian groups such class distinctions are of little if any operative significance. In these genuine senses of the terms, then, Ladino society is a class society whereas Indian society is a mass society. This distinction obtains despite the fact that the economic status of many Ladinos is as low and sometimes lower than that of some Indians. But in the area with which I am personally familiar, I know of no Ladino, no matter how impoverished, who is not accorded a treatment and a status fundamentally different from that accorded to any Indian—no matter how wealthy. It is for these reasons, then, and in these senses of the terms, that Ladinos may be spoken of as the classes and Indians as the masses of Guatemala.

Among the most striking differences between the non-material culture patterns is the belief of the classes that a man's virtue is proportionate to the extent and style of his conspicuous consumption of leisure and goods. For the masses, on the other hand, a man's worth is proportionate to his reputation as a hard worker at hard manual tasks. Each group is aware of the differences in the bases for attribution of status; and each group tends to deprecate the status-ideal of the other. Moreover, persons are partly identified as either Ladino or Indian by the extent to which they conform to the status goals of the groups. It is not uncommon, therefore, for Indians to reject an Indian from their intimacy and confidence and to consider him as an outsider should he persist in any efforts at conspicuous consumption of leisure and goods. It is equally common for Ladinos, in their social gossip, to deprecate a Ladino who has to work with his hands for a living, and to consider him as thereby rendered socially unacceptable.

These contrasting emphases on work and leisure permeate all age groups and both sex groups of the society. There is, for instance, a clearly distinguishable difference between Indian and Ladino child-life. The latter is characterized by almost unrestricted time for

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play, and the former by the earliness of the incorporation of the child into the adult division of labor. One result is that few if any Ladino children are economically self-sufficient, even by the time of their marriages, while most Indian children more than earn their keep from the time they are 11 or 12 years old.

The leisure of the Ladinos and the work-involvement of the Indians is highly visible to both groups. It is no accident, then, that identification of one's group membership and awareness of the status ideals of both groups should develop as they do.

Add to these facts the further fact that there is continuous verbal education—positively by reward and negatively by deprecation—in the proper attitudes toward these status ideals and these modes of identification of group-membership, and it is little wonder that adult behavior in rural Guatemala, with reference to work and leisure, gives full justification for talking about two separate ways of life.<sup>6</sup>

A second noteworthy difference between Indian and Ladino ways of life is one which is in part due to the first above indicated. It is to the effect that boredom is a serious problem for the Ladinos, while the Indians have no formal concept of leisure-time at all, and consequently no problem as to how to fill up their hours. The Ladino leisure problem is not one of merely finding something interesting to do, but finding something interesting which can be conspicuously and stylishly done. That this is a core problem of the culture is manifest in the fact that competition for status among Ladinos is in large measure decided on the basis of the stylishness with which one disposes of his leisure time. This is in turn evidenced by the fact that descriptions by Ladinos of their fellow Ladinos who "rate" are often phrased in terms of these outwardly manifested styles.

That the concept of leisure time is absent

<sup>6</sup> It is an interesting commentary on the flexibility of the human organism and on the limitations of the theory of biological determination of behavior that such marked differences exist between people who, in many instances, are virtually identical in physical appearances and constitution.

from the Indian life-way, on the other hand, is indicated by at least the following two factors. First: Indians have no understanding of and hence are unable to answer the question "What do you do when you are not working?" until it is explained to them that "working" refers only to the making of milpa, their chief economic pursuit. Once this is made clear, they then indicate that when they are not so engaged, they are usually sewing and braiding straw hats, eating or sleeping.

Secondly, there is in Indian society an institutionalized deprecation of wealth and any manifestation of that wealth. As a natural corollary, there is an institutionalization of the plea of poverty. Poverty, along with illness and hard work, are integral parts and natural elements of the Indian life-way—according to the Indians. Conspicuous consumption of leisure or goods is thereby taken to be the mark of a Ladino—and, as such, depreciated. Thus, for instance, the wearing of shoes is held by the Indians to be proper only for a man who does not have to work in the fields and who has money to spare. For, shoes are not comfortable while doing milpa work, and one needs spare money in order to be able to buy another pair when the first wears out. Hence, any Indian who wears shoes is held to be wealthy and a man of leisure—and hence not an Indian. Descriptions of Indians who are trying to change over to Ladino status or who, presumably, in other parts of the country or in other countries, actually did change over, almost always contain some reference to the wearing of shoes as the mark of the new status.

These two bits of evidence seem to suggest strongly that the concept of leisure time is alien to the Indians.

A third significant difference in the culture patterns is a corollary of both the first and second already noted. It consists in the fact that for Ladinos work is something in the way of an evil, to be avoided whenever and however possible, while for the Indians work is an integral and indispensable part of their total status. "We are Indians, therefore we are hard workers," or, "We are hard workers,



therefore we are Indians" are utterances which are too frequently and consistently heard from too many Indians for them to be dismissed as simply some convenient nonsense that interview-wise natives felt like giving out to a rather ignorant inquiring anthropologist. It is not that Indians like to work—"like" is too flimsy a word to describe the situation—but rather that an important part of their definition of themselves as Indians, as Christians, as human beings has reference to the fact of their hard work many hours a day. The naturalness of this self-conception and the difficulty of conceiving themselves any other way is amply indicated by the fact that, almost without exception in answering questions as to what kind of work they would pick if they had their choice, the Indians replied they would always keep on making milpa no matter what else they did.

For the Ladinos, on the contrary, work is an alien task, a sort of nasty trick of fate from which, with God's help, and in virtue of their superior endowments, they will someday be free, as are, even now, they note, some of their more fortunate fellow Ladinos. The notion of work as service or as an opportunity to test and explore one's talents is absent from Ladino society. Above all, the idea that work is something natural in the human status is sheer anathema. And for that work where manual labor is involved, namely the kind of work that Indians typically do, their greatest contempt is reserved.

Yet almost all the able bodied people of the area with which I am personally familiar had to work in some way or other to earn a living. It is in the kind of work that is typical to each of the two groups that another basic difference in culture pattern is to be found. Ladinos earn their livings primarily as tradesmen, entrepreneurs or landlords with subsidiary entrepreneurial functions. Indians, on the other hand, are principally agricultural day-laborers, tenant farmers, sharecroppers, or, in a few instances, individual farmers with their own land holdings.

The entrepreneurial outlook is characteristically Ladino, and is identified as such by both the Ladinos and the Indians. Indeed,

a Ladino without such aspirations is looked upon as either a vagrant or as one who is dangerously like an Indian. Correspondingly, an Indian with entrepreneurial functions or aspirations is considered by the Indians as already in the process of deserting the Indian way of life. Ladinos regard such an Indian as one who is not as low and hopeless as the majority of the other Indians.

In the psychological concomitants of these two contrasting economic functions are to be found still other important differences. The consequences of preoccupation with agriculture and the keeping of one's eyes and hopes glued to the ground many hours a day for many months a year seem to be the kind which reinforce mental isolation and provinciality of outlook. On the other hand, the psychological concomitants of business-mindedness, of trading, buying and selling, visiting other towns to find markets for products—these seem to be the kind which promote a growing secularization of outlook, a broadening of one's mental horizons, a development of quasi-cosmopolitan aspirations.

This difference in the psychological consequences of the typical occupations must be considered as a primary factor in the preservation of differences in the basic culture patterns, differences which in this light may be subsumed under the polar type concepts of folk and urban or sacred and secular.

There must additionally be noted the effect on time- and energy-consumption which is exercised by these contrasting types of work-involvement. The work the Indian does is enough, it seems, physically to wear out the strongest of men. Moreover, after working in the fields, sewing straw hats and eating there is little time left to the Indian for anything but sleep. Mental isolation and continuous self-enclavement of the Indian are thus impersonally reinforced on the physical and physiological levels of their existence.

For the Ladino, on the other hand, time and energy consumed at work is kept to the barest possible minimum. There is an excess of both time and energy at their disposal with which and in which—if they were so inclined—almost any program of self-cultivation or community improvement or similar

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specializations of effort might be effected. Moreover, in their business negotiations outside their own towns they have ample opportunity and reason to observe and make note of new styles, new fashions, new speech-mannerisms, new types of relief from boredom. For the Ladino, then, the attitude toward work and the typical work he engages in renders it possible, on the physical and physiological levels, for him to keep looking outward and away from the past and from local conditions.

In sum what is being said here is that the limiting conditions within which the Indian lives are much narrower than those which obtain for the Ladino. While these limiting conditions do not determine the particular pattern of life, nevertheless, in the case of the Indian, they eliminate much mental and physical accessibility to alternative ways of life as well as many of the alternatives themselves. In contrast, continuous mental accessibility and physical capacity to venture on alternative ways is guaranteed for the Ladino, as is indeed, the continuous presentation of such alternatives.

Despite this persisting accessibility and capacity to venture on alternative ways of life, the Ladino is equally persistent in doing nothing about it. This is not a case of willful indigence, but seems to be a natural consequence of the very factors which make it possible for him to be accessible and capable. It is the combination of the very same disdain for time and energy-consuming work, on the one hand, with the need for well-developed work ethic if alternatives are to be explored, on the other hand, which creates the conditions whereby the leisure time of Ladino is a problem rather than a pleasure, and which render most of his life activities meaningless in the same degree. It is not an imputation of the student but a clearly discernible feature of the lives of the Ladinos that they are marked by an incoherency of the various facets of those lives. In particular terms, what the Ladino does while he earns a living has little meaningful reference to or positive significance for or supporting connections with what he does with the rest of his time.

In the Indian way of life, on the other hand, everything seems to find a natural lodging. There is a unity of purpose and a coherence of parts which are not only clearly observable by an outsider but readily voiced and felt by the Indians themselves. The Indian sees his milpa, his family relations, his religious affiliations, his ritualistic involvements, his political and social status as a necessary part of his own definition of himself as a natural creature in a natural universe supervised by an omniscient and indefeasible set of both good and bad forces.

This difference in the spiritual meaningfulness of life activities is plainly discernible in many of the facets of the life that is led in rural Guatemala. A few of the more obvious instances may be noted.

In the first place, one notes the all-pervasiveness of religion and accompanying ritual in almost everything the Indian does. In contrast to this, for Ladino men at least, religion is something that is proper and necessary—but only in the abstract. Lord forbend that any atheists should appear in their midst. But neither the private nor the public lives of the Ladinos seem to be invested with any religious significance nor accompanied by any ritual or ceremonial.

Secondly, with reference to family life, it may be noted that the behavior expectations of the Indian in the pueblo society-at-large are almost point by point duplications of the behavior expected from him in his family circles. The age respect principle on which the Indian family functions is clearly and rather strictly observed in the pueblo society as well. This extends even to the use of the same terms of address and reference in some cases. In addition, the family is for the Indian not only the guarantee of economic survival and emotional solace, but the indispensable training ground for successful adult life. As such, it is indispensable.

For the Ladino, on the other hand, the family seems to be a group-membership which, in increasing numbers, is felt to be something to rid oneself of in the shortest possible time. It is not the place to which one turns for intimacy and affection; the secondary groups—neighborhood gangs, friend-

ship units, the comrades on the soccer team—these have come in increasing degree to take over the functions which the Ladino family seemed to have served at one time. The only significant non-survival function which the Ladino family seems yet to serve is as a genealogical reference in which it is possible, on occasion, to dig up or invent a noted ancestor and thereby to acquire an added bit of prestige. But this is a far cry from the Indian conception of the family as a microcosm of society. The persistent and continuous fragmentation of Ladino families—desertions, marriages in other pueblos, intra-family feuds (all of which may, to be sure, be observed as well in Indian society—but to a much smaller degree) are particular points in evidence.

There is, moreover, a noticeable lack of community feeling on the part of the Ladino population, whereas in Indian society there is not only a noticeable presence of the feeling but concrete manifestation of that feeling as well. It is the Indians, thus, who render significant the fiesta celebration of the name-day of the patron saint of the pueblo; it is the Indians who take it on themselves to repair the church when repairs are needed; it is the Indians who identify themselves primarily as citizens of the pueblo and only remotely as members of any larger aggregation; it is the Indians who ritualistically mark their membership in the pueblo with visiting delegations to the name-day celebrations of the patron saints of other pueblos.

It is the Ladinos, on the other hand, who try as much as possible to disengage themselves from primary identity as members of the local pueblo; who give nation and national celebrations far greater importance than locality and local celebrations; who try constantly to achieve an identification of their behavior, houses, clothing and gossip modes with those modes thought by them to be proper in the City. It is the Ladinos, finally, who attach merit to the man who is "really not of the pueblo, but a genuine city type," in contrast to the Indian's derogation of any attempts at achieving such a degree of sophistication in mannerisms alien to the pueblo way of life.

In sum, there is a significant relationship for the Indian among all of his group memberships. His chief concern, his milpa, is sanctified and made fertile by prayers in his religious club meetings and in the church, which are located in the pueblo of which he feels himself an integral part, and in which he finds his roots in virtue of having his family and his milpa located in that pueblo. He is, in a real sense, a *vecino*, a neighbor, a resident of the local community.

In sum, for the Ladino, on the other hand, there is a significant fragmentation of the parts and a continuous loss of any sense of meaningful group membership or life involvement. The family and the pueblo are groups in which it is a mark of low prestige to affirm membership; typical work occupations and aspirations transcend in their horizons anything which the pueblo has to offer; food and clothing styles are acceptable to the degree that they are comparable with what is thought to be acceptable in sophisticated Guatemala City. In short, the Ladino is not a *vecino*, a neighbor, a resident of the pueblo, but a Guatemalteco, a nationalist, a Guatemalan, and is these latter only residually. They appear to exert no significant positive effects upon his day by day behavior.

Here, then, is a rather clear cut instance of a folk culture which is genuine standing in contrast to a culture which is spurious in the degree to which it is secularized. The value of such an evaluative comparison of cultures needs now to be examined. The four following points of value seem to be suggested: (1) It is now possible to compare the two different instances and discover, in particular terms, what it is that gives rise to the difference; (2) when and if the differentiating factors are discovered, it then becomes possible to construct hypotheses as to the general significance of these factors; (3) testing of the hypotheses on other societies then becomes possible, and the construction of adequate theory about generic factors which contribute to making cultures genuine or spurious is thereby rendered possible; (4) assuming it can be proven that societal science should seek to render possible the

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conditions which promote the development of genuine cultures, and to eliminate the conditions which promote spurious cultures, such soundly constructed theory about generically important factors will enable science to achieve one of its most important "shoulds."

Each of these four points may be examined separately. With regard to the first, it seems clear that what gives the Indians a sense of natural fulfilment and meaningfulness of activity is their belief in the interpenetration into all parts of their lives of a divine will and the necessity to perform religious and magic ritual to assist that will when beneficent, and to propitiate that will when angry.

This feeling of total interpenetration by divinity, accompanied by a systematic minimization of desires seems to be an effective guarantee for the Indian of a minimal disparity between his levels of aspiration and his levels of achievement. It also seems to give rise to a feeling of the fitness with each other of all parts of his life. The minimization of desires just noted itself seems to be impersonally achieved by the cumulatively self-reinforcing processes of isolation, both geographical and mental. The operative factors in this process of isolation seem to be primarily those arising out of the Indian's economic efforts, his kinship system, and the fact of his illiteracy. His continued illiteracy, lastly, is guaranteed by the nature of the way in which he earns a living. Working at a subsistence level, on a very limited amount of decidedly improverished soil, every hand in the fields is indispensable. Every able-bodied male is therefore urgently needed. Children of twelve, who by rules of the kinship system, are completely subservient to their parents, are considered able bodied males if they have had three or four years of previous training. This training period coincides with the time when children in rural Guatemala ordinarily go to school. The school in the community is in reality the only place where the existence of other alternative types of work and the development of the minimum number of skills requisite thereto can be had. So, the Indian

child gets trained for the milpa and on the milpa, and never learns about other ways of life or how to venture on to them. He trains his children in the same way. The circle swings full and the stability of age-old tradition is thereby guaranteed.

In sum, then, it is the attitude toward divinity and the systematic minimization of desires, accomplished in the manner just described, which seem to be the primary differentiating factors in the contrast between Indian and Ladino life.

With regard to the formulation of hypotheses as to the general significance of those primary factors, it may be noted that the hypothesis we are led to in this instance may seem to many to be a rather pitiful suggestion. But it likewise seems probable that its very formulation is its own guarantee of at least an attempt to find evidence to the contrary. That hypothesis would read: If, through the processes of continuously reinforced mental isolation there can be produced in a society a tendency toward minimization of desires rather than maximization of achievements, and if that is accompanied by a feeling of a divine guarantee of the fitness and correctness of the operations of the way of life, then the people of the society in question will sense a unity and coherence of the parts of their life way, and a meaningfulness in each of their activities. In short, they will have a genuine culture.

It would be appalling to some if evidence were found to prove that meaningfulness of activity and coherency of parts of a culture were exclusively related to a minimization of desires and a sense of all-pervading divine will. Most of the materials which describe folk societies seem to suggest that this integration of culture is a prime characteristic of such societies and quickly begins to vanish under the impact of secularizing forces. Current materials on world society also suggest that folk societies are rapidly disappearing from the face of the earth and that the forces of secularization are operative in even the remotest corners of that earth. The question which immediately suggests itself, then, is whether the sense of absence of purpose and of coherency and unity and

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meaningfulness of a culture are necessary consequences of the process of secularization.

In reverse, this question reads: "Is the sense of fitness of life and spiritual meaningfulness of life activities an exclusive function of isolation and an unquestioned belief in divine will? In short, is a genuine culture possible on a non-folk level?"

This question can be answered only by testing the hypothesis and all its implications on other societies. This can be done through observation and analysis of present and past societies which meet the criteria of secular society, defined descriptively and not evaluatively. Such societies as meet these criteria, at least more or less so, may then be examined to discover to what extent they meet or fail to meet the criteria of genuine and spurious cultures, and the reasons for their meeting or failing to meet these criteria. Constant comparison of spurious with genuine societies should enable us to widen our knowledge of the range of factors which are contributory in either way. Such a widened knowledge of the range of contributory factors will enable students to effect a partially controlled experimental approach to the subject. Here the familiar concepts of "objective possibility" and "adequate causation" may be employed to great advantage.

Finally, with reference to the fourth point of value of the evaluative comparison attempted here, it perhaps is in order here to make a suggestion which will be explored in greater detail in a subsequent paper: namely, science must take it upon itself to answer the question as to whether a genuine culture

is possible on a secular level. The compulsion seems to derive from the fact that, by definition, folk culture and science are mutually exclusive. If science offers no evidence to contravene the proposition that genuine culture is possible only on a folk level, it is committed to the alternatives of either (1) accepting the weight of evidence of the present which supports this hypothesis and thereby denies science any role in a genuine culture; or, (2), in token of the scientific creed, it is compelled to be silent about and thereby render tacit assent to the disquisitions of those who, like T. S. Eliot, feel that:

... if the arts are an essential element in culture, and if culture is necessary for the development of the highest spiritual capacities of a people, it must not be forgotten that without a religion there can be no culture. Neither the arts, nor political life, nor economic life, nor anything that can be included under the term civility, can flourish without a total culture, and there is no total culture without a religion—not a multiplication of private figments, but a common faith and order. I would assert further that a religion cannot be fully apprehended until it becomes the faith of peoples of different original cultures, and while uniting these peoples in a common brotherhood, can be contemplated in its transcendence of culture, as well as lived in the conditions of each particular culture. Any mere political, legalistic or economic union of humanity is a frail and temporary substitute for the union in diversity of cultures, which only a common religious faith can create.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> T. S. Eliot, "Notes Toward a Definition of Culture," *New English Weekly*, January-February, 1943, reprinted in *Partisan Review*, Spring, 1944, pp. 145-157.

## NEEDED RESEARCH IN PARENT-CHILD FIXATION

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THE IDEA of parent-child fixation doubtless comes from Freud though he seldom or never used the term. For him, the Oedipus Complex was an instinctive and therefore specific and universal form of libido fixation. Flügel uses the term often and may be largely responsible for its widespread currency.<sup>1</sup> However, the literature contains little rigorous or systematic discussion of the concept. It is commonly used without definition, as if everyone knew its meaning; its implications are not developed; very little careful research has been done.

As is true of so much social theory, the general idea of parent-child fixation is found in folklore and colloquial expressions.<sup>2</sup> Freud recognized this and found a good Greek myth to typify it. However, one does not need to go to the Greeks. Parental fixation is suggested by such folk phrases as "mama's darling," "sissy," "tomboy," "apron strings," "too big for his britches," "chip off the ole block," "just like his father (or mother)," "my dad can lick your dad," "my dad is the richest, smartest, strongest, etc., man in the world," "all I am I owe to my dear old mother," "childhood is the happiest time of one's life," and so on. Many proverbs express similar ideas somewhat more sentimentously. While not so dramatic as a gory Greek myth, much of this folk-talk probably is closer to social reality.

<sup>1</sup>J. C. Flügel, *The Psycho-Analytical Study of the Family*. London: International Psycho-Analytical Press, 1921, esp. 226 ff. As early as page 51, he states that parent-fixation is a common usage for the Oedipus-Electra (cross-sex) form of fixation.

<sup>2</sup>For some time, I have been working on a paper which attempts to show that many psychopathic and some sociopathic concepts have counterparts in the partial truths of folklore, adage, proverb, slang, and cliché. Much of these sayings is obvious nonsense but there is also much sound observation in this "folk psychopathology and therapy." A similar relation exists between folk "weather-wisdom" and meteorology. See W. J. Humphreys, *Weather Proverbs and Paradoxes*. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1923.

Many adult users of these sayings believe the child "inherits" the traits in question. Most studies of problem children at the turn of the century were based on heredity and instinct under the influence of the recapitulation theory and the then current concepts of biological evolution. A little later, mental testing, Mendelian genetics, the semi-mystical instinct theories of MacDougall, and the instinctual psychoanalysis of Freud all contributed to delay the present trend toward a sociological explanation of personality formation and deformation.

In 1896, E. W. Bohannon made an extensive study of "peculiar" children. He implied that their traits were almost wholly inherited. In this study, he discovered something which led to his famous paper, "The Only Child in a Family" (1898). Many mothers, school teachers, social workers, and even some social psychologists are still suffering from the effects of this paper, even as they still suffer from Freud and mental testing. Bohannon thought "only" children were the result of procreative weakness and probably were biologically handicapped thereby.<sup>3</sup> Whatever may have been true in the nineties, it is almost certainly true today that "only" children are not due to procreative weakness. It probably is true that most of the social and biological traits of Bohannon's children were due to socioeconomic status and parent-child relations rather than to anything biologically or sociologically inherent in the "only child" situation. We now know that "only" children are not doomed either to social maladjustment or biological inferiority.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>E. W. Bohannon, "A Study of Peculiar and Exceptional Children," *Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of General Psychology*. October, 1896, 4: 3-60; "The Only Child in a Family," *ibid.*, April, 1898, 5:475-496.

<sup>4</sup>Norman Fenton, "The Only Child," *Journal of General Psychology*. December, 1928, 446-456. The best general summary of the literature on this subject I have seen is in Jessie Bernard, *American*



Parent-child fixation undoubtedly was an important factor in the behavior of Bohannon's children, whether peculiar, exceptional, or only. He himself glimpsed this through a glass darkly when he wrote: "Very often they have been forced into an early adulthood from having been made the constant companions of older persons, especially the mothers who very frequently make them the sharers of their trials and responsibilities. . . ." "The cause of their backward social development is to be found chiefly in their home surroundings, though suggestions of a physical predisposition are not wanting."<sup>5</sup> These sentences indicate some modification of the biological bias in the earlier paper where such statements as this occur: "Girls are more likely to inherit than boys, and from the mother rather than the father."<sup>6</sup> What he called "inheritance" of personality traits is almost entirely due to learning or social conditioning, and the fact that he attributed biological prepotency to mothers is easily explained when we recall that mothers are much more closely associated with children than fathers are. His conception of inheritance was somewhat naïve, even for 1896.

Freud's conception of the Oedipus complex led him to at least three apparently sound conclusions. First, he emphasized the universality of the phenomenon and thus avoided the scientific defeatism implicit and often explicit in the concept of cultural relativity. Cultural relativity is a fact but it does not follow that universal generalizations are therefore impossible. Physical and biological relativity has not prevented universal generalization in these fields so much as cultural relativity has interfered with universal generalization in the social sciences. The reasons for this are obvious.

Second; Freud made it clear that fixations may be positive or negative. Positive father-daughter and mother-son fixations may, and according to Freud, always have

*Family Behavior*. New York: Harpers, 1942, esp. chapter XIII, "Sib Relationships."

<sup>5</sup> "Only Child," *cit. sup.*, 494, 495.

<sup>6</sup> "Peculiar and Exceptional Children," *cit. sup.*, 55.

their negative counterparts in father-son and mother-daughter "hate," ambivalence, or compensatory forms of "love."

Third; these relations are often repressed and result in subtle and unconscious manifestations by means of such mechanisms as transfer, displacement, compensation, projection, identification, sublimation, rationalization, and psychopathic and psychosomatic illness. Either the parent or child, or both, may become neurotic or psychotic,<sup>7</sup> or they may "outgrow" (by the mechanisms he describes) the fixation and achieve normal adulthood and parenthood.

The shortcomings of Freud in respect to parent-child relations are now generally admitted, at least by all except very doctrinaire Freudians. Malinowski showed that boys do not hate their fathers in an avunculate society. The Oedipus Complex seems to be a reaction to authority rather than an expression of instinctive sexual jealousy.<sup>8</sup> I conclude that both father-role and mother-role are cultural rather than biological and thus may be performed by any person of either sex.

Nimkoff and others have shown that children may prefer either parent and that mothers are more often preferred by both boys and girls in our culture.<sup>9</sup> It also is probable that mothers have more, and more intense fixations on children of both sexes than fathers do. In most cases, a parent-child or child-parent fixation probably is

<sup>7</sup> I use neurosis and psychosis to indicate whether the subject does or does not recognize that his behavior is compulsive and maladjustive. Probably most psychopathic, like most biopathic, behavior is relatively harmless and transitory. Certainly some neuroses are more detrimental to the patient and society than some psychoses are. See my discussion in *Sociometry*, May, 1944, 257-263, "Psychopathic Interlude" and "Biopathy, Psychopathy, and Sociopathy"; also "Sociopathy and Antisemitism," same journal, November, 1943, 460-464.

<sup>8</sup> B. Malinowski, *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927; and *The Father in Primitive Psychology*, 1927. Wayne Dennis, *The Hopi Child*, 189. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1940, thinks his data confirm Malinowski.

<sup>9</sup> Meyer F. Nimkoff, "The Child's Preference for Father or Mother," *American Sociological Review*, August, 1942, 517-524. Other studies are cited.

due to other factors than repressed incest impulses. Since all parent-child fixations are not disguised or transfer derivatives of the Oedipus-Electra Complexes (though some may be), we must recognize eight *forms* of fixation, with their positive and negative *types*, rather than the Freudian two; nor can we any longer accept the too simple Freudian explanation of their genesis. What factors do produce them; how they vary in type, incidence, and intensity, etc., are matters for intensive and extensive research, for the most part still waiting to be done.

It was Freud's misfortune to be educated in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when the instinct theory was a scientific dogma and biology was dominated by the mechanistic materialism then regnant in the physical sciences. Thus, he was practically compelled to explain cultural behavior as a direct, mechanical, cause-and-effect derivation from basic biologic determinants. He could not see that these so-called "instincts" might be merely theoretical inductions from the observed phenomena—hypotheses rather than data, as Ellsworth Faris expressed it so nicely in 1921. Freud was certain the phenomena must be "caused" by preexistent instincts which were the inevitable products of biological evolution. Biology must "explain" psychology and psychology must "explain" sociology. Thus he, like most scholars of his time, fell into the fallacy of "Explanation by Reduction"—which really explains nothing.<sup>10</sup> His view is a logical conclusion from the Comtean hierarchy and the Spencerian concept of evolution, both of which are not inconsistent with the more ancient teleological idea that man is the crown of creation and there is a moral and rational supernaturalistic power and purpose in the universe.

As the nonteleological conception of natural science has replaced primitive, animistic anthropocentrism, and as the impli-

cations of the view that cultural phenomena are natural phenomena have become clearer, Freud's theoretical position has become as untenable as that of MacDougall or Spencer or Aquinas. Instead of "explaining" culture by psychoanalysis, it now becomes clear that psychoanalytic concepts can be more adequately "explained" by cultural conditioning; or more accurately, that bio-cultural phenomena are reciprocally interrelated and that structure and function modify each other within ascertainable limits. The cultural revision of Freudian theory by such scholars as B. Malinowski, K. Horney, A. Kardiner, E. Fromm, J. B. Watson, E. B. Holt, James W. Woodard, J. K. Folsom, and others, needs no comment.

However, many of the Freudian concepts seem to have the universal descriptive and predictive power which characterizes natural science. If a generalization covers all data of a carefully delimited class wherever they are found in time and space, we may regard it as a sound scientific concept even though the incidence and magnitude of the phenomena vary widely. It is suggested that parental fixation is such a concept, although a wholly satisfactory definition is at present impossible. Such a definition will be possible only after sufficient research has been done. However, since empirical research and theoretical statement are reciprocally related, a tentative attempt will be made to formulate the concept so it can be tested by research. Then some specific research problems will be suggested, the results of which should confirm, modify, or destroy the concept. The needed research must be stated as specific, empirically testable hypotheses which are relevant to the general concept. Some attention will also be paid to available and possible new methods of research in this field.

Hypotheses may be stated as assertions or as questions. Someone has said that sound research is based upon the art of asking proper questions. Proper questions are those derived from the extant body of scientific knowledge and stated in such a way that new relationships can be demonstrated or shown to be nonexistent by the tested methods of natural science research. It is highly desirable

<sup>10</sup> See my papers, "The Concept of Complexity in Sociology," *Social Forces*, December, 1929, 222-231, and March, 1930, 369-378, esp. 372 ff. See George A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1940, 85-86, 128-129, 173-174, *et passim*.

that such questions should be crucial for theory and useful for practice but I know of no way by which one can be *sure* on either point. If some infallible method of formulating the most crucial and most useful hypotheses were known, the task of all science would be greatly simplified. Frequently, a verified hypothesis becomes crucial for theory and useful for practice only after other research, sometimes in remote fields, has been done. In general, men choose hypotheses because of such factors as availability of data, cost of the research, personal interest or curiosity, or presumed relevance to theory or practice.

It is sometimes useful to approach definition by exclusion or negation. In a sense, all definition is residual, i.e., if all not-A is excluded, what remains, if anything, is "pure" A. Then A may be defined, or described, in terms of its distinctive qualities and the necessary operations for its isolation. As the body of scientific knowledge accumulates and is integrated, an increasing amount of not-A can be taken by consent, though this is often the source of much error. Difficulties arise when things seem to be only somewhat A-ish, or even slightly B-ish. This is particularly true of most cultural concepts. Their proper definition requires the elimination of all connotative, implicative, suggestive, ambiguous, animistic, poetic, folklorish fuzz until nothing remains but a clear, precise, concise, denotative symbol of a sense-observable referent. This is not easy. Hence, my attempt to define parent-child fixation probably will not be wholly satisfactory either to you or me.

It can be taken by consent—I hope—that parent-child fixation is not the same as normal parental and filial affection, or domination and submission, or acceptance and rejection. Too much or too little love or discipline, or the wrong kind, may *indicate* fixation without being fixation. The same may be true of domination, submission, acceptance, rejection, identification, projection, ambivalence, and so on, through the entire list of personality traits and mechanisms. They may *involve* fixation without *being* fixation.

Fixation is a psychosociopathic concept. It implies interference with normal and adequate social adjustment. Following Weiss and English, who quote Glover, we may say normal personality is satisfactory capacity to work, play, and love, with absence of serious neurotic, psychotic, or psychosomatic symptoms.<sup>11</sup> The difficulty with this definition is the loose terms "satisfactory" and "serious," but they must be included because all persons have varying degrees of mental-emotional conflict, difficulties with work, play, and love, and some mild neurotic and psychotic habits which may produce psychosomatic symptoms. Satisfactory adjustment does not mean "perfect" adjustment; it merely means functioning within the limits of tolerated deviation from current conduct norms. The symptoms become "serious" when behavior violates these tolerated deviations, which of course may vary between cultures, between segments of the same culture, and as a result of temporal shifts in knowledge and values. When a person has a habitual compulsive maladjustive mode of response toward another person, object, or activity, he has a fixation. His behavior indicates an *idée fixe*, a "vicious circle," an obsessive identification with the object. The fixator is the maladjusted person; if the fixated object is a person, he may or may not respond to the fixation of the fixator by developing a fixation of his own.

When the fixator is a parent and the object is his child, we have a parent-child fixation; when the opposite is true, a child-parent fixation. I think Freud is right that fixation is a universal phenomenon and that p-c and c-p fixations occur in varying degrees in all cultures. However, social conditioning appears to be a much more plausible and convincing "explanation" of parental and filial fixation than any instinctual theory, and especially any specific cross-sex incestuous instinct. Empirical study of the phenomena is of course possible under either theory.

The two basic types of fixation are pos-

<sup>11</sup> Edward Weiss and O. Spurgeon English, *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 27-32. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1943.



itive and negative. A p-c or c-p fixation is positive when the fixator cherishes, "loves," worries about, defers to, boasts about, is proud of, indulges, etc., the fixated person so excessively, irrationally, and compulsively that the fixator is noticeably maladjusted; it is negative when the fixator resents, "hates," fears, shames and is ashamed of, humiliates, hurts, threatens, frightens, nags, etc., the fixated person. In many cases both types of behavior may be observed in the fixator (ambivalence) but usually the positive or negative type will be ascendant most of the time. Hereafter, the *types* of fixation will be designated by the symbols P, N, and A±.

In all cases, the fixator is the maladjusted person, but the fixated person may respond by developing a fixation of his own. In p-c fixation, the child is perhaps more likely to develop a c-p fixation than a parent is likely to develop p-c fixation in response to a pre-existing c-p fixation. However that may be, and research could test it, there are at least five or six types of response to P, N, A± fixation. These are positive, negative, ambivalent positive and negative, tolerative, and displaced, hereafter called p, n, a±, t, and d *types of response*. The p, n, a± types are similar to the P, N, A± types and so need no comment except to point out that the indicated types of behavior for parents and children are different in origin, intensity, duration, mode of expression, and subsequent effects on personality. Positive and negative p-c and c-p fixations are "alike" only in the broad sense indicated above. Tolerative response means that the fixated person does not develop psychosociopathic behavior. Displaced response means that the fixated person develops a fixation on some other object than the parental or filial fixator. Such displaced fixation would have to be p, n, or a±. If an observed fixation is not known to be due to displacement, capital letters would of course be used.

Rejecting the Oedipus-Electra Complex as basic and instinctual carries with it the rejection of other forms of p-c- and c-p fixation as compensatory or displaced manifestations of the repressed "incest instinct."

There are doubtless many cases in which the response of the fixated person is a displaced fixation on the other parent, sibling, relative, or other person, object, or mode of activity, but such cases must be ascertained empirically, not assumed, as in Freudian theory. Hence it is necessary to designate all the possible *forms* of fixation: father-daughter, daughter-father, father-son, son-father, and similarly for mother-child relations. Hereafter, these eight *forms* of fixation will be symbolized as f-d, d-f; f-s, s-f; m-d, d-m; m-s, s-m; or more briefly as f-c, c-f and m-c, c-m. In each case, the fixation may be P, N, A± and the response to it may be p, n, a±, t, or d. Both fixations and responses may vary in range and intensity.

By definition, all fixation is somewhat psychosociopathic and is probably also accompanied by varying degrees of *derived* neurotic and psychotic behavior, including some psychosomatic symptoms.<sup>12</sup> These phenomena may appear to be quite unrelated to the *basic* fixation. The case is no different, of course, in p-c and c-p fixation and the responses thereto. The p-c or c-p fixation may be *derived* from some other basic fixation. For example, the p-c fixation may be derived from the basic fixation of the parent on one of his own parents, positive or negative, possibly illustrating what I have called elsewhere a "vicious cycle,"<sup>13</sup> or he might fixate his child, or one of them, because of a past love affair, thwarted ambition, marital discord, or some inferiority feeling. In all such cases, the fixation is *derived* and indicates some personality maladjustment on the part of the parent before he has assumed the parental role. Similarly, c-p fixations may be *derived* by transfer from a *basic* fixation on another person, object, or activity. Suppose we have a positive f-d fixation. The child may respond to this by developing a displaced negative d-m fixation. A frequent cause of such a pattern is the preexisting N

<sup>12</sup> For terminology and point of view in this paragraph, see citations in Note 7.

<sup>13</sup> See chapter VII, "Personality Development and Marriage," esp. 147-149, in Reuben Hill and Howard Becker, Editors, *Marriage and the Family*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1942.

fixation of the father on the mother, or at least marked marital discord between them. In such a case, the P f-d fixation is *derived* from the father's negative fixation on his wife; the child's response is likely to be a *basic* P d-f fixation and a displaced negative d-m fixation which of course is *derived*. If such patterns are common, as I believe they are, they might be regarded as confirmation of Freud, but according to the view developed here, such displaced responses could equally well occur in any of the eight forms of p-c and c-p fixation. A child can also develop a p, n, or a  $\pm$  *derived* c-p fixation by transfer from a *basic* P, N, or A  $\pm$  fixation on some other person, or as the result of failure or success in connection with recreation, school, or even from fantasy imagination.

It always should be remembered that much of our normal behavior has its genesis in such transfer, displacement, projection, identification, and compensation behavior. It is also true that all p-c and c-p fixations are merely specific instances of generic fixation which may exist in any social relationship. Fixation is merely socialization gone awry. It may be positive, negative, or ambivalent; neurotic or psychotic; basic or derived; psychopathic or sociopathic; severe or mild; transient or enduring psychosomatic transfer symptoms may exist; and fixations of all these, and probably many more, types, durations, and intensities may be found in connection with the eight-fold *forms* of parent-child fixation.

We need better methods for the detection of p-c and c-p fixations. At present, we rely largely on commonsense which can recognize only crude and obvious cases. The subtle influences of fixation escape us for the most part and will continue to do so until we devise more objective and discriminative methods of observation. Normal parent-child relations usually fluctuate between "love" and "hate." This is normal ambivalence. We have the A  $\pm$  type of fixation only when there is evidence of some degree of psychosociopathic behavior on the part of the fixator. At present, we can go beyond commonsense by the various methods of case study and pencil-paper tests, all

of which will doubtless be greatly improved. Statistical analyses such as those employed by Kirkpatrick, Symonds, Stegner and Krout, and others,<sup>14</sup> seem promising. The Rorschach test may become a valuable research tool, combining as it does, psychiatric (or psychoanalytic) case study and statistical techniques.<sup>15</sup> The Moreno psychodramatic procedures may become useful both for diagnosis and therapy of mild and obvious as well as severe and marked p-c, c-p, and other kinds of fixation.

Another promising development is the constitutional analysis techniques of W. H. Sheldon and associates.<sup>16</sup> It may be that an endomorphic parent is more likely to have a positive fixation on an endomorphic child and a negative fixation on a mesomorph or ectomorph; that a marked endomorphic parent with strong somatonia or cerebrotonia is more likely to have a negative fixation on an endomorphic child with normal viscerotonia; that a parent with a temperament congenial to his somatotype is less likely to reciprocate the fixation of a child that is markedly dyscrastic, and vice versa; and so on through the whole list of possible combinations of body and temperament types. If such relationships can be shown, we have at hand a powerful new research technique which is both objective and quantitative. I was more excited by these two

<sup>14</sup> C. Kirkpatrick, "A Statistical Investigation of the Psychoanalytic Theory of Mate Selection," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1937, 32:427-430; Percival M. Symonds, "Some Basic Concepts in Parent-Child Relationships," *American Journal of Psychology* (Golden Jubilee Volume, 1937), 195-206; and *The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationships*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939, especially chapters II and IV; Ross Stegner and Maurice H. Krout, "A Correlational Study of Personality Development and Structure," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 35: 339-355 (1940).

<sup>15</sup> For an interesting application of Rorschach methods to unilliterate subjects, see Emil Oberholzer, "Rorschach's Experiment and the Alorese," chapter 22 in Cora Du Bois, *The People of Alor*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944. See also Abram Kardiner's comment on page 8.

<sup>16</sup> W. H. Sheldon, et al., *The Varieties of Human Physique*, 1940, and *The Varieties of Temperament*, 1942. New York: Harper and Brothers.

books of Sheldon than by anything I have read since *The Physiological Foundations of Animal Behavior* and *Animal Drive and the Learning Process*. Sheldon's work may prove to be as important for the understanding of human behavior as the work of Freud, Pavlov, and those scientists who regard social phenomena as natural phenomena and honestly accept the research implications of that innocent statement.

In general, instrumentalized research is most likely to advance science in all fields. Hence, if we can study p-c and c-p fixation by methods similar to those employed by Sheldon, Child, and Pavlov we shall the sooner escape from the shortcomings of the commonsense, verbal, subjective methods upon which we now so largely depend. *Standardized* paper-pencil tests and interviewing aided by schedules and clearly formulated hypotheses are great improvements over commonsense, insight, intuition, and all informal and unrigorous procedures, but precise instrumentalized means of observation and classification would be still more profitable. We are rapidly moving in this direction. Thus, polygraphic instruments with automatic timing tend to replace the clumsy word-association tests with hand-operated stop-watches. Photophonographic records may transform interviewing from an art into applied science. Hypnoanalysis may become a routine and valuable mode of interviewing.<sup>17</sup> "Truth sera" may also give interviewing added power. It is worth noting that Sheldon finds response to alcohol one of the best means of diagnosing temperament, thus confirming the good old adage, "*in vino veritas*." Response to endocrine dosage may prove to be useful in studying both body type and personotype, though Sheldon does not

report much success from his initial efforts in this direction. Various other instrumental devices for observing, classifying, and experimentally producing and testing personality traits and functions will doubtless be developed.

Such research must not ignore the social context. Maladjustment to all the major institutions, defective manners, morals, and modes of speech and action, over-aggressiveness and over-submissiveness, reclusiveness, irrational worries, fears, and sense of sin and shame, compensatory and substitutive behavior, and so on, may be rather directly related to the various types and forms of p-c and c-p fixation, and the types of response thereto. It should be clearly understood that no suggestion is made here, or implied, that p-c and c-p fixation has anything like the central and basic significance for social behavior ascribed to the Oedipus Complex by Freud. It is merely suggested that such fixations are factors in many forms of maladjustment and exist in some form to some degree in all cultures. So stated, p-c and c-p fixation is, or may be, universal in the same sense that typhoid fever is universal. Certainly, at present, most of our talk about fixation in general and parent-child fixation in particular goes far beyond relevant scientific knowledge.

Assuming that p-c and c-p fixation is a form of mild-to-severe psychosociopathic behavior, and assuming we can detect and measure such behavior, the following questions should be answered before we profess to speak scientifically about such fixations, to say nothing of giving preventive and therapeutic advice. Proper answers require sufficient repeated research on each specific hypothesis so we can say, "It is a *scientific fact* that under the *specified conditions* these phenomena *do exist* in the *indicated amounts and intensities*." If we were able to add, "and they are 'caused' by x-conditions and result in y-effects," so much the better. If the first type of statements can be made, the second will follow in due time. Proper answers require that we ascertain such facts for all major cultures, races, and socioeconomic classes and then correlate specified

<sup>17</sup> Robert M. Linder, *Rebel Without a Cause: The Hypnoanalysis of a Criminal Psychopath*. New York: Grune and Stratton, 1944. In this case, family disorganization was revealed and defective vision (apparently psychosomatic) was relieved. I suspect a large part of criminal behavior has its origin in defective family relations and that a great deal of our physiological ailments are psychosomatic manifestations of the same kinds of basic failures in socialization.



degree and types and forms of fixation with subsequent personality traits and social behavior. With such scientific knowledge, we might be able to devise control-techniques—which is the major objective for all scientific research.

Of necessity, the following questions are formulated within the context of our own culture but, with some modifications, they should be applicable to any culture. Proper answers would require ascertaining rates and intensities by race, sex, socioeconomic status, measured intelligence, physical and mental health, somatotypes and personotypes (temperaments), rural, urban, and perhaps regional and sectional residence, educational level, income, occupation, and possibly nativity, religion, and other categories thought to be significant.

1. How much p-c and c-p fixation exists?
2. What is the relative incidence of the eight forms of fixation?
3. What are the rates of P, N, A $\pm$  fixations in the eight forms and the rates of p, n, a $\pm$ , t, d types of response?
4. To what extent do children reciprocate p-c fixations, and vice versa?
5. What are the most common patterns of P, N, A $\pm$  fixation behavior of the father-child and mother-child forms in our culture and what are the most common patterns of p, n, a $\pm$ , t, d responses to them?
6. The same for c-f and c-m fixations.
7. How is adolescent rebellion related to P, N, A $\pm$  fixation in the eight p-c and c-p forms of fixation and the p, n, a $\pm$ , t, d types of response thereto?
8. What are the intensities and distributions of p, n, a $\pm$ , t, d types of response to the P, N, A $\pm$  types of fixation in the eight forms of fixation?
9. Can p-c or c-p domination and submission exist in the absence of p-c and c-p fixation?
10. Are over-acceptance and rejection the same thing as P, N, A $\pm$  types of p-c and c-p fixation? (Children can over-accept and reject parents as well as parents can do it to children.)
11. How are the p, n, a $\pm$ , t, d types of response to the P, N, A $\pm$  types of fixation (in the eight forms) related to such common problem-child behavior as excessive fantasy and escapism, tantrums, stuttering and other speech defects, enuresis, finger-nail biting, night-terrors, truancy, tardiness, sexual misbehavior, lying, stealing, running away, cruelty, fighting, and so on?
12. What kinds of personality defects in parents are associated with P, N, A $\pm$  types of p-c fixation?
13. How do the types of fixation parents may have had on their parents, and their types of response to fixations their parents may have had on them, affect their fixation behavior with reference to their own children?
14. To what extent do c-p fixations develop in the absence of p-c fixations and how are they distributed as to P, N, A $\pm$  in the d-f, s-f and d-m, s-m forms? And what are the p, n, a $\pm$ , t, d responses of the parents?
15. Is it possible to distinguish *basic* and *derived* fixations and how is the displaced type of response related to them? What are the commonest patterns of displaced response in our culture?
16. What are the relative incidence and intensity of P, N, A $\pm$  fixations and p, n, a $\pm$ , t, d responses in the eight forms of fixation with reference to ordinal position and sex composition of the family? (When there are more than two children, this becomes quite complicated and would require a great many specific hypotheses)
17. What is the relation between fixation and age of children? For example, what types of fixation and responses to them for the eight forms of fixation would be found in families of three boys and one girl when the girl is a varying number of years younger than the youngest boy? (Here also the number of combinations is very large when there are more than two children)
18. What is the relation between p-c and c-p fixation and age of parents, especially in cases where the age of either spouse exceeds that of the other in varying amounts?
19. How is the subsequent adult life of children affected by the various types and degrees of fixation and responses thereto with reference to such things as psychopathic and sociopathic behavior, mate selection, marital happiness and success, parental functioning, occupational choice

and success, recreational and artistic activities, religious life, and so on?

20. What are the incidence and intensity of the various types and forms of fixation among somatic types when they have the normal viscerotonic, somatotonic, and cerebrotonic temperaments, and also for the common dysplastic and dyscrastic types? Since children may have body and temperament types differing from those of their parents, and since there are 76 known body types and perhaps as many temperament types, research in this field will be very complicated, but it may be very fruitful.

While these suggestions are by no means exhaustive and each one of them would have to be broken down into many specific hypotheses, the factual data required for definitive answers to these questions might be very useful and certainly would suggest many hypotheses for further research. These questions reveal something of my idea of the kind and amount of research which must be done before we can speak *scientifically* about p-c and c-p fixation. Some of the findings might lead to practical applications almost at once; many would lead to no conclusion; some doubtless would negate their hypotheses. Negative conclusions often are as useful as positive ones. If the negative conclusion that there are no ghosts, goblins, spirits, devils, souls, gods, imps, nymphs, and ESP in the world were as convincing to the rest of mankind as it is to many scientists, there would be a lot of changes in human behavior. Every positive finding has its negative counterpart and a succession of negative findings may generate a convincing positive inference—as in the case of ghosts and goblins.

Until a considerable amount of such suggested research has been done, most of our glib talk about the causes, effects, and control of p-c and c-p fixations must remain in the same category as the old lady's brew for shortness of breath. It was efficacious because among its 57-varieties of witch's

flora, fauna, fungus, and feces, it happened to contain digitalis. Perhaps our thousands of volumes of verbal brew for the rearing of children contain no digitalis—unless it be the advice to wash 'em, feed 'em, love 'em, and let 'em sleep. "Love" is often nominated for the digitalis role, but I doubt it when I reflect upon the crimes committed against children in the name of "love." My own formula, which obviously is based upon commonsense rather than scientific knowledge, is to make the child as quickly and completely independent of the parent as possible: feed him properly; tell him the truth; love him wisely and teach him to give and receive affection easily and gladly; teach him from the cradle to play, work, laugh, study, and think critically and creatively; and never do anything for him that he can do for himself. This is much easier said than done: relevant scientific knowledge is badly needed. However, I think a reasonable approximation of it would prevent many p-c and c-p fixations and would make both parents and children better people to live with, both in and out of the family.

During the last fifty years, hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of man-hours of research have been devoted to the anatomy, physiology, and chemistry of the blood. It has paid enormous dividends. Perhaps a similar amount of research in p-c and c-p fixation would pay similar dividends in our understanding of the formation and deformation of personality. Blood research started almost from scratch; we start with a great accumulation of relevant scientific knowledge and a thorough knowledge of scientific method and research techniques. All we have to do is go to work. We must not continue to deal with "immediate pressing social problems" to the detriment of the basic research which alone can provide the science-based techniques for the diagnosis, prognosis, therapy, and prevention of psychopathic and sociopathic ills.

## TAMING THE LUMBERJACK

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ABOUT 100 years ago when the white-pine timber of Maine was approaching exhaustion New England loggers began moving to Michigan, then later to Wisconsin and Minnesota. By 50 years ago, as the timber resources of the Lake States in turn threatened depletion, a migration to the Pacific Northwest was well under way. Because the heavy forests of Douglas fir grew close to the water, the shores of Puget Sound and of the lower Columbia River had been ideal for ox-team logging. By 1895, however, when this second big migration was gaining momentum, the steam "donkey" engine was in general use throughout the densely timbered coastal strip west of the Cascade Range.

The old time logger, whether a "bull-whacker" or a "donkey puncher," seldom married. A lumberjack who had labored in the woods of Vermont, Wisconsin and Washington for 25 years before he was "snared by matrimony" confesses: "I don't believe I ever really regretted it, but there have been times when I had a terrible hankerin' to throw a roll of dirty blankets on my back and hit the trail for an old-fashioned bunk house, where single blessedness was the order of the day. That was a great and glorious freedom and he-men could talk to he-men in he-man language."<sup>1</sup>

In logging communities, both past and present, growing boys often rehearse in their play activities roles they will later enact in actual logging "shows." An experienced logger wrote me as follows about his boyhood 40 years ago:

In my day, every ambitious boy wanted to become either a hook-tender or a donkey puncher. We would make donkey engines from old wheels and other discarded junk. They were pretty good too! And with these, using cords

for cables and shoe eyelets for blocks we would build miniature skidroads. Each operation was carried out strictly according to approved logging methods. . . . Bill, my younger brother, who had spent a summer as whistle punk in Thurston's camp, was hook-tender by virtue of his experience. He'd stand on a stump and give orders. When things went haywire, he poured forth expletives in true logger style.

There is a lure to logging that persists to the present day. It has been well expressed by Robert E. Swanson:

There's a life that is close unto nature, where the soul is happy and free,  
And you live by the brawn of your muscle—ah,  
there is the life to suit me—  
This job in a shipyard is lousy—a paradise fit for a tramp.

So to Hell with a life in the city; I'm off—to a logging camp!<sup>2</sup>

Although the modern logger may have a keen interest in his forest work and be proud of the machine tools with which he is so skillful, he is much more likely to be married than the early day lumberjack and often returns every night to his home on a "stump ranch" or in a small town. This is true of a young "cat hooker" (boss of a caterpillar yarding crew) who told me recently that he had worked in an aluminum plant, but that there was "too much gas"; in a shipyard but he "got too lazy"; at Pearl Harbor, but there was "too much fooling around." He likes the woods, the fresh air, the good mountain water, the hard work. A short distance from this "cat crew" was a group of three stump-rancher "power fallers" whose children attend a consolidated school in the valley. They are proud of their electric saw. It took them only five minutes to "fall" a five-foot Douglas fir. Three out of

<sup>1</sup> Marsh Underwood, *The Log of a Logger*. Kelso, Washington: 1938, pp. 28 and 30.

<sup>2</sup> From "The Call of the Tall Timbers" in *Rhymes of a Western Logger*. Vancouver, B.C.: 1943, 6 and 9.



every four of the 160 men on this logging operation are married.

Among all types of American workmen the logger is probably the greatest individualist. His problem is always changing. New conditions present new possibilities. He has to figure out ways of doing things. Personal initiative is essential to success. Put a logger in any occupation requiring improvising and he is an apt student. A big percentage of the men who are "doing things" in the Pacific Northwest have worked in the woods.

For the man who is running a logging camp "everything ahead is different and everything behind is behind." It is a game of chance. The logging contractor has to gamble that he can put logs into the mill at such and such a price.

There is a radical difference in psychology between the loggers and the mill men of the Pacific Northwest. Most of the jobs in a sawmill are routine and monotonous. With the exception of a few positions, such as head sawyer and automatic trimmerman, less skill is needed. In general the logger is more intelligent and receives more pay than the mill hand. Loggers' wives resent being confused with mill workers' wives.

The development of logging technology in the Pacific Northwest since about 1895 may be divided roughly into three stages: (1) ground skidding of logs to railroad spurs, a method that began to decline rapidly by 1915; (2) overhead railroad logging, which began in 1906, achieved popularity after 1915, and reached its peak in the 1920's; and (3) truck-and-tractor logging which began on a small scale before 1920 but did not increase rapidly until after 1932. The first stage created a situation which produced the "stag camp"; during the second period large "family camps," or company towns, were developed; the third stage has encouraged communities of independent families. With the increasing accessibility of logging operations the peripatetic bachelors of the early days have been largely replaced by married men. This paper is, therefore, primarily concerned with the increasing domestication of the lumberjack.

During the summer of 1912 I worked in Camp 7 of the Mason County Logging Company in the Black Hills west of Olympia. Most of the time I was assigned to a gang that built "fore and aft" skidroads, chutes of logs laid lengthwise through which strings of "round stuff" were cabled to the railroad "landing" by donkey engines. At that time most of the loggers were homeless men. Many of the men with whom I worked could not speak English. Pointing to the sun one of the recently arrived Austrians wanted to know what I called it. At the same time the Simpson Logging Company a few miles to the north specialized on Finns. Its men came direct from Finland wearing tags addressed to Shelton, Washington. Swedes and Norwegians have also played an important role in the lumber industry of the Pacific Northwest.

The loggers at Camp 7 carried their own "bindles," or blanket rolls. A "bindle stiff" walking along the railroad or highway was a characteristic sight in those times. Riding on the logging train or hiking over a mountain trail were the only means of access to Camp 7. The beds in the big bunkhouse were made of wood softened slightly with straw. They were frequently vermin-infested. Even at this time there were a few families. About 8 of the 110 men lived with their families in little shacks along the railroad tracks. Not long after this, living conditions in stag camps began to improve. In 1914 Ronald McDonald, who was in charge of the Cherry Valley logging operations for Weyerhaeuser, had his men living in 12 railroad cars which were supplied with steam heat, hot water and electric lights. A half car was fitted up as a reading and writing room.<sup>3</sup> It is generally conceded, however, that the big I.W.W. strike in 1917 marked the end of the bindle stiff era. After that, sheets, blankets, pillows, and pillow cases were provided by the companies. The I.W.W. celebrated by burning their old "soungans," or comforters.

Lumberjacks play hard. "They drink,

<sup>3</sup> *West Coast Lumberman*. November 15, 1914, pp. 21 and 23.

them loggers do." Because of their health they can take more punishment than most men. They may not spend all their money on liquor and women now, but they ordinarily don't save it. At Camp 7 the principal objective was to make a "stake" and then go on a spree. The "boomers," or "short-stakers," were on the move all the time. They would work a few weeks at Camp 7, go on a binge, and then work a short time in another camp. Many other men were willing to work until the Fourth of July or Christmas, traditional big holidays in the lumber industry. Their custom of lavish spending made the loggers welcome in communities like Olympia, or Aberdeen, or Seattle, but the men from the woods were an outcast group as far as the respectable society of these communities was concerned.

The following excerpts from a statement written for this paper by Paul J. Reppeto, "high climber" for the Long-Bell logging operations at Ryderwood, Washington, describe one of these binges of about thirty years ago:

Loggers were quite welcome in Albany, Oregon, when alone, or in pairs, but when in groups it was otherwise. Resentment of this attitude plus high-octane liquor is what started the fights.

We are dressed in clean, new overalls, rolled up about four inches at the bottom. With money in our pockets and conscious of physical well being, it is difficult to keep from swaggering just a little. To boys who have been in the brush a long time, the feel of the pavement and the brightly lighted shop windows with their attractive displays are as wonderful as New York.

Tom announces that he's going to look for women. Franklin tells him bluntly that he'd better "lay off." Jack and I decide to take in a show.

Back in our hotel room it seems I have scarcely closed my eyes when I am awakened by a tremendous racket. It proves to be Tom and Franklin. Both really have skinsful now and are hard to handle. Franklin is in a belligerent mood. He'd exchanged amenities with one of the night cops and seethes with growling resentment. From Tom's remarks he'd found the entertainment sought.

Next day, while waiting for our order at the "Chink's," Tom and Franklin come in—really well loaded. Such men start getting drunk about

the time the average man would have passed out. Franklin says something to the cook, who is cutting up a chicken on a large table. There is further exchange. Suddenly the cook throws the chicken in Franklin's face. "Damn you," says Franklin, "I'll have your pigtail for that!" Grabbing up a steak knife he makes for the Chinese who, with a wild yell, goes out the door with the big "sniper" after him. Women scream and men rush to the door. The room seems quite suddenly filled with people. I am dimly aware of Jack saying, "Come on. Let's get to hell out of here."

Both overhead railroad logging and truck-and-tractor logging may be seen in action at the present time. Through the assistance of the U. S. Forest Service, which paid the travel expense, and with the wholehearted co-operation of logging superintendents, it was possible for me to spend 27 days during 1944 in the field. Nine operations of varying sizes and types were visited. The logging town of Forks was studied for six days. Loggers and their wives were interviewed informally on the job or in their homes. Due to the war the lumber industry is short-handed. Women have replaced men to some extent in the mills but only to a very limited degree in the woods. One sixth of the employees in the world's largest sawmills at Longview are women. There are not as many young single men in the logging crews as before the war and at the same time some of the older married men are working in the shipyards. To meet the urgent demand for logs it has been necessary to employ a substantial group of incompetent unmarried tramps, estimated at 15 percent of the total force in one large camp. The net effect of the war seems to have been to increase the age of the woods workers, but not to make much change in the ratio between the single and the married.

Overhead logging means that the cable is run through a block 150 feet or more up in a "spar tree" so that one end of the log is lifted, the other end dragging along the ground. The "skyline" differs from this "high-lead" method in that two spar trees are used. The shift to overhead logging favored an increase in the size and the complexity of logging engines culminating in

tremendous steel tower "skidders" weighing 150 tons and capable of hauling logs at a speed of 900 feet per minute.<sup>4</sup> Such power and speed, coupled with "highball" or "speed up" logging, increased the accident rate in an industry already listed as the most hazardous. It is significant that in the State of Washington during 1943 and 1944, a period when the manpower shortage made it difficult for employers to "highball," the average annual frequency for logging fatalities per million man hours of exposure decreased more than one-fourth as compared with the preceding nine-year period.

Present-day stag camps are to be found in the more inaccessible railroad locations. Camp 3 out of Vail is a good example. One hour and twenty minutes is the fastest time that the jerky "speeder" is permitted to make the winding 30 miles of railroad between Camp 3 and Headquarters at Vail. Data necessary for income tax deductions show that of the 168-man crew at Camp 3 exactly one-third are married and two-thirds are single.<sup>5</sup> For the entire Vail-McDonald logging operations the situation is almost reversed: 58 percent are married and 42 percent are single.

Although houses are available in the little company town of Vail, there are no families living at Camp 3. Many of the married men in logging camps prefer to maintain their homes completely away from either the camp or the company town. The logger can be more free to work where he pleases and his family can live near relatives and have the advantage of a good school. One "home guard" at Camp 3 gets home every Saturday in time to take his family to the nearest town for a weekly shopping trip. In another logger family, which included eight children,

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to J. Kenneth Pearce, Professor of Forestry at the University of Washington, for information on this and on several other technical points.

<sup>5</sup> After working seven seasons in a variety of logging camps in the sparsely settled central and northern sections of Vancouver Island, C. J. Bennett, one of Professor C. W. Topping's students at the University of British Columbia, estimates that less than one-third of the employees in any of these isolated railroad camps were married men.

when papa came in on Saturday evening "we all sat and listened for hours as he told us of his experiences in the woods during the week." Families of this type tend to be matricentric. While the father is away the mother manages everything and this gets to be a habit.

Some isolated woods camps do make provision for families. The Schafer Brothers' logging camp in the Olympic National Forest, probably the best equipped in the state, has three modern family houses. The "bull buckler" at this camp, i.e., the boss of the cutting crew, has worked for this company 25 years and has lived in camps with his family for 15 of these years. He finally moved to a comfortable home on a little 5-acre place near Shelton. Here he has chickens and a strawberry patch. There is a good school for his children in Shelton. He concludes:

It is okay to have the family in camp for a week or two, but I would not keep them here for free rent and half the camp. Women like to shop and drive around town. It helps if there is a good road into camp, but a logging camp isn't permanent anyway. You get moved out or the camp shuts down. I have three kids and I want them to have more than a one-room school and a poor teacher.

Conditions have, of course, greatly improved in these modern camps. The dining tables are often served by female flunkies, sometimes called "Jills." The food itself is a marvel to the outsider. A recent study of the loggers at Camp 5 of the Simpson Logging Company showed that they were consuming 5,000 to 6,000 calories a day.

It is the policy of some companies to encourage their men to live with their families in company towns. The biggest of these "family camps" was established twenty years ago by the Long-Bell Lumber Company at Ryderwood, Washington. From Ryderwood the men are taken out 16 miles or more by train or speeder to a variety of points on the big project and are brought back to their families at night. Although provision is made for single men at the "Tavern," three-fourths of the crew are married. The company has recently built a theatre which is provided



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with the latest in equipment including a "crying room" so that small children will not disturb the audience. The same building houses a library, a club room for the women, a beauty shop, a lodge hall and a barber shop. These and other paternalistic services are designed to keep the men more satisfied and to reduce labor turnover.

In 1924 the population of Ryderwood was about 2,000; in 1944 it had dropped to 1,000. Only 150 of the 375 houses are now rented. "Stump ranchers" started working for the company about ten years ago and they now compose about one-third of the total force (351). They live on small farms 2 to 20 miles away from Ryderwood and commute daily in private automobiles. The earnings of fallers and buckers who are on a piece-work basis go down in summer when there is more ranch work and up in winter.

One serious difficulty seems to be endemic in company towns like Ryderwood. Nobody owns any property. The people have no stake in the town, no roots in the ground, and consequently little feeling of community responsibility. A keen interest in the athletic activities of the Ryderwood Public School is a major constructive factor. Aside from athletics there is little for youngsters to do after school hours. It is interesting that the boy who broke a large number of windows in the school is now making good as a marine! It is not known what has happened to the boys that tied a cow in the school at Halloween time! In a recent discussion of plans for a new consolidated high school near Winlock the representatives of that rural trade center admitted that they wanted the loggers' business, but insisted that they did not want the "roughnecks" from Ryderwood attending their school and associating with their children.

The recent shift from overhead railroad logging to truck-and-tractor methods was facilitated by the improvements in truck-and-tractor design. The geared "locie" can go up a 6 percent grade; the log truck, a 20 percent; the tractor, a 40 percent. One of the largest truck-and-tractor operations in Washington is that of the Snoqualmie Falls Lumber Company. Logs are hauled

directly to the mill on an excellent privately owned gravel road wide enough for two big trucks 12 feet in width to pass at 40 miles an hour. Truck and trailer together call for 18 huge tires. Each of the big logging "cats" has a bulldozer on one end to use in pushing out a road over which to haul the logs, a towing winch which enables it to cable yard its own logs within a short radius, and a logging arch that makes it possible to lift one end of the logs it has yarded and pull them to the loader.

Seventy percent of a total logging force at Snoqualmie Falls of 216 are married. Most of these family men return every night to "The Orchard," "The Terrace," "Riverside" or "The Hill," neighborhoods of somewhat different status in the company town of Snoqualmie Falls, or to widely scattered homes in the Snoqualmie River valley. This company has recently encouraged interest in their husband's work by taking the loggers' wives on a trip into the woods. Many of the wives enjoyed this tour very much. Others have never been in the woods and do not care to go. In fact one faller's wife did not know what a "springboard" is, an essential item in her husband's equipment.

The so-called "gyppo" loggers, men who log by contract, use trucks to a greater extent than the big operators. They often pay better than average wages. "The men are more likely to stay." Most of the tie mill workers in the Morton area southwest of Mt. Rainier National Park differ from other loggers in that they do not belong to a union. They are now getting more than union wages. In a typical tie mill located in a section of second growth Douglas fir high on a mountain side the men receive from \$10 to \$16 for an eight-hour day. All except three of these 13 men are married and all of them have permanent homes in the valley.

Although only 54, Joe, the rigger on this tie-mill crew, has had 38 years of experience as a logger and feels that he is too old to work in the woods. When the donkey engine "high leads" entire trees direct to the little tie mill one does have to be spry to escape injury. The job is okay for a young man, thinks Joe, but he doesn't want any of his four

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sons to do it. The "whistle punk" doesn't want his boy to work in the woods either. The many physical dangers in logging and the idea that the occupation has a low status seem to be factors in this attitude. In contrast most loggers feel that their status has improved. For example: (1) "In the past the logger was an outcast. He was shunned by people in the cities. Now you can't tell him from anyone else"; (2) "I used to be ashamed of being a logger; now I am proud to be one."

During the summer of 1913 when I worked on a state highway survey near Morton there were no tie mills in this area. More than 60 tie mills now use the "tie docks" in this "tie center of the nation." Unfortunately the heavy cost of trucking over steep mountain roads, \$14 to take a load of ties to Morton from the mill where Joe works, makes everything but the ties a complete waste. Ends, slabs, and sawdust are either burned with the slash or are left on the mountain to rot and create a fire hazard.

A feeling of inexhaustible supply seems to have been characteristic of logging operations as they moved westward from Bangor, Maine, to Grays Harbor, Washington. It has been associated with a wastefulness that has been by no means limited to "gyppo" tie mills. Too often it has been followed by an attitude of hopelessness. As Stewart Holbrook has dramatically indicated there are many places in Oregon and Washington where "ghost towns still walk." At Port Ludlow on the northern tip of Hood Canal, which for eighty-three years was a thriving center for the sawing of lumber, there is now nothing but a ferry dock, a country store and a few houses. On one strip of railroad sixty-five miles long between Chehalis and Raymond "one can see the remnants of no less than nine former sawmill towns."<sup>6</sup> In another seven years the timber supply of its district will be gone and Ryderwood will be added to the long roster of "ghost towns." "Several years ago business men of Grays Harbor adopted a slogan, 'Two billion or bust!'" writes Lyle

F. Watts, Chief, U. S. Forest Service. "They reached their first objective, and then the closing of sawmills brought them close to the second when the war came to the rescue."<sup>7</sup>

As early as 1897 Edmond S. Meany, later to become "the grand old man" of the University of Washington history department, urged that "the tree-harvest should be garnered in such a scientific way that future generations shall not find the forests gone forever."<sup>8</sup> More than fifty years later some of the loggers are beginning to answer this plea with sustained yield programs. This means that one does not cut more than the forest will grow. Under the leadership of George Drake, a "Penn State" graduate in forestry, the Simpson Logging Company has worked out a plan for sustained yield in the Shelton region. To achieve this it will be necessary to reduce the cut from 160 million to 100 million a year. Due to wartime demands for lumber, this is not being done. The company has acquired 150,000 acres of second growth land on which the "young stuff" varies in age from 20 to 60 years. Much of this is included in the South Olympic Tree Farm which is under the direction of a graduate forester. The Washington State Reforestation Act makes it possible to reduce taxes on this farm as long as it is used exclusively for growing trees. It is like growing corn except that it takes 100 years rather than 100 days.

The J. Neils Company also has a plan for sustained yield, developed with the assistance of the University of Washington College of Forestry, in the area tributary to its permanent Draper Springs Camp about 12 miles south of Mt. Adams. With the contemplated working cycle this company has one-third enough timber for a 40-million-a-year cut. One third more will probably be available from state and national forests. Another third is wanted from the Yakima Indian Reservation. The company is 100 percent committed to a program of selective logging. About 18 percent of the trees

<sup>6</sup> Mimeographed address on "The Need of the Conservation of Our Forests." 1943.

<sup>8</sup> *West Coast Lumberman*. February, 1897.

<sup>6</sup> *American Forests*. May, 1937, pp. 216-217.

marked by the forester for cutting are salvage; 10 percent are thinnings; the remainder are marked on the basis of their maturity and market value. Tractors, which are used here, and open ponderosa pine forests are especially well adapted to selective logging.

Draper Springs is the type of logging community that is possible with long time planning. With its 28 comfortable houses scattered through a pine grove, most of them surrounded with lawns and flowers, it looks more like a mountain tourist resort than a logging camp. There is a bunkhouse with double occupancy rooms for the 10 or 12 single men in a total crew of 75. Some of the families own small ranches in the 10-mile long Glenwood Valley. Other families, as revealed by Una Hayner who interviewed six wives, are saving money to buy ranches. Most of these loggers take an interest in their homes or in their farms. One enterprising Swede has built a house and barn on his "stump ranch"; the latter with used lumber that he bought for \$10. He is also buying a \$25 bond each month so that his crippled son can have a college education. The children in these families attend the Glenwood Public School and many of the loggers and their wives are active in the Parent Teacher Association. As in other American neighborhoods gas rationing has encouraged interest in the life of the local community. This neighborhood of increasingly independent families is very different from the early, inaccessible, woods camps run by the same company. As recently as 1927 these camps were composed almost entirely of unmarried men who seldom stayed any length of time.

The town of Forks, located between the northwest corner of Olympic National Park and the Pacific Ocean, is even more a community of independent logger families than is the Draper Springs locality. When Al Morgan, University of Washington graduate in forestry, came to Forks in 1924 the average logger stayed in a camp. For 11 years Morgan ran a big camp near Forks for the Bloedel-Donovan Lumber Company. "With a cookhouse you pull men off highways and from employment bureaus," he

recalls. "These men are on the move all the time." Now Morgan is a good example of a successful "gyppo."

Forks has grown from about 100 in 1924 to approximately 1,000 now (1944). According to Morgan:

The younger generation was marrying and driving to work. This is how the town of Forks was built up. It is almost entirely a logging town. Small operators carry steadier crews and get more work out of the men. My crew is almost entirely "home guard." This makes a better class of labor. There are exceptions, of course, but in general married men are more dependable. The married man fits into trucking splendidly. He drives from home to work. The average married man prefers truck to rail.

Morgan pays the drivers of his \$10,000 truck-and-trailer units \$1.25 an hour with extra for overtime. Since time is figured from house to house these drivers ordinarily put in a 12-hour day and make \$400 a month.

Morgan is now (June, 1944) logging selectively in a state-owned tract of virgin spruce 29 miles from Forks. Many of these trees are 200 feet tall and an occasional one is 14 feet in diameter at the base. Thirteen trucks carry the logs to a railroad near Forks, which, in turn, dumps them in salt water at Port Angeles. The "cat skinner" on this operation is appropriately nicknamed "leather ears." His tractor makes quite a noise as it pulls the big logs out to the "landing." The "cat hooker" describes himself as "the only boomer logger on the whole crew." As a matter of fact all of the 35 men on this crew are married except the foreman and the "boomer." Most of the men live in Forks, but seven of them have homes along the Hoh River and two Indians live in the Quileute village at La Push.

Logger support of community institutions in Forks has been differential. Although the two small churches do not receive much attention from lumberjack families, there is, as in every logging community, a small group of faithful worshippers. The Clallum County Community and War Chest, the American Legion and the Red Cross have been well supported. Loggers seem to want their chil-



dren to have a high school education, but only 3 in last year's graduating class of 24 went on to college. A bull session with six leading boys at the Quillayute High School, which draws its 123 students from a radius of 20 miles, revealed that three of them plan to go into logging as their vocation after the war. The moving picture theater, a commercial enterprise, is very popular. It is common for a logger and his wife with four or five children to attend together. Occasionally, however, parents will park their youngsters in the theater, go on a drinking party and forget to come after the children.

Single men, some of them ex-bindle stiffs, make up a small proportion of the logger population in Forks, but a large proportion of those who drink excessively.<sup>9</sup> A family man may go up in the evening to one of the three taverns, have a couple of glasses of beer, and talk about the number of logs he has cut that day, but he usually gets home by 9:00 o'clock so as to get the news on the radio. The state liquor store in Forks sells a large amount of liquor, however. Families that do not drink feel isolated. One articulate, well-adjusted logger's wife expressed her attitude toward drinking as follows:

When we have company on Saturday night we like to sit around, have a few drinks, laugh and talk. It is all a logger has. He can play poker but that is very expensive. It is okay for men to drink and visit with men. Harry does it every night on his way home from work. If men and women are drinking, husband and wife should be together. I don't care if a man says "Hello, Mom. How are you?" and kisses me. Anything like that in public is wrong to some women. My big objection to Harry's drinking is that when he is drunk he holds himself stiff like a gentleman and I want someone to talk to. I never scold about his drinking. He would give me anything he had money to buy.

In general Forks is a healthy community but it does have a high accident rate. Dr. U. S. Ford, who manages a hospital there, estimates that the incidence of accidents has

gone up 15 percent during the war. The man hours of exposure have, however, also increased. The logger's wife constantly fears that her husband will be brought in or that she will receive a call from the hospital. The siren on the hospital ambulance is used reluctantly. Every wife who hears it will ask herself: "Is it my husband?" and will be nervous until he gets home.

Fatalism seems to be a dominant philosophy not only among loggers, but also among their wives and children; "If it's going to happen, it's going to happen," is a common expression. On a day when the wind is blowing and "widow makers" (loose branches caught in a tree when another tree falls) are dropping, the logger may say: "If I'm going to get it, I'm just as apt to get it at home; might stumble over a clothes pin on the floor!" When the hazards of logging are mentioned to boys planning to go into that occupation, the answer may be: "You just have to be lucky, I guess."

The college-trained wife of a Forks gypso logger had the following interesting comments on lumberjack families:

Many wives are working for the day when they can get their husbands out of the woods. The work is hard, dirty, and hazardous. The men often have to get up at 4:00 A.M. and go out, when it is still dark, into the cold, pouring rain. (The average annual rainfall at Forks is more than 12 feet.) They won't wear their rain pants. Say they can't work in them. And yet the work fascinates them!

Some of the wives are dissatisfied. There is little social life. They are good sports, however, and do everything possible to make a home. Most of the women are fond of their men or they wouldn't be here. Most of them have gone through a pioneering stage. The first home may have been a log cabin or perhaps just a shack. Seldom do jobs last more than three years unless the man becomes a boss. Both wives and children learn to adjust to situations quickly.

Sheer necessity makes the family more integrated. All seem to want a home wherever they go. Friends and situations change. The one stable thing for a wife is her husband and children.

It seems to be an established habit that a logger is actively the head of his family. "You may have your ideas," he will say, "but this is

<sup>9</sup>Of the 447 loggers arrested by Seattle police in 1943, 416 or 93 percent were single; 96 percent of these arrests were for being drunk or disorderly.

the way it's going to be." That's that, and no discussion.

Most logger families in the Forks area are well integrated. For only one out of four students in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades has the home been broken by divorce, separation or death.

As in the majority of American families the control is moderately paternal. The logger may be more interested in his work than in home details, but when he returns he usually "rules the roost." As suggested earlier in the paper, a matricentric pattern may develop when the father visits once a week or less. In Forks, however, most papas are able to return to their homes every night. Although paternal control is common in such a situation, as elsewhere in America there are exceptions:

One of the wives interviewed was clearly the boss in her home. Her husband had been the youngest of seven children; she had been next to the oldest of eight children and had taken much of the responsibility for raising her six younger siblings. The marriage is happy because they each get what they were unconsciously looking for in marriage. For two years during the depression she supported the family. Without the assistance of her husband this capable wife has added a sun porch, a clothes closet, a dining alcove and a modern bathroom to the tiny two-room cottage in which they live. Potted plants, hooked rugs, attractively decorated comforters and hand-painted pictures make this shack a home. "It would go hard if he did not do what I wanted," she said.

A 57-year-old "stump rancher" near Forks ran away from an unhappy home and began working in the woods of Oregon at the tender age of 9. Later he drove a bull team in a Columbia River logging outfit. Moving to the Grays Harbor country he used to hike 25 miles with a pack on his back to a logging camp up the Humptulips River. One Christmas night in Aberdeen he saw 19 fights in 2½ hours. Two men were killed. Shingle weavers fought loggers. "Windjammers" brought sailors from all over the world. Work in the woods at that time was from daylight to dark; eleven hours if there was enough daylight. "A man never had a ranch in those days. All he needed was a lantern." The lumberjacks of those rugged times were truly "a rough and fighting band of hardy tramps."

The major conclusion of this paper is that with those basic changes in technology that have made possible the increasing accessibility of logging operations the trend has been away from the transient "boomer" type of logger toward the "home guard." Many of the old bachelors still work in the woods, of course. This is especially true in a group of hand fallers and buckers or in the more isolated railroad camps. Most of the men on truck-and-tractor crews, however, are married. Domestication has to a large extent, tamed the wildness of the early lumberjacks. The typical logger of the Pacific Northwest is no longer an "uncivilized, unwashed individual." Today he is a family man.

## FAMILY MODES OF EXPRESSION

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LANGUAGE and other media of communication are an element in the cultural systems of all societies. Each individual acquires this part of his cultural heritage as the result of membership in social groups, of which the family is first and foremost in importance. Transcripts of family table talk,<sup>1</sup> supplemented by other special case material, constitute source material for a study of the linguistic element in the family culture. This paper is a report of a research study of family modes of expression, based on a total of 51 case records. The emphasis is primarily upon family linguistic situations. Its findings are to be related to the social development of the child and his induction into the prevailing culture.

### INFANT CONDITIONING SITUATIONS

The child's contacts with family modes of expression begin at birth. Observations of the mother's communication behavior with her infant child were made in 16 cases, all of them during the first ten months of the child's life. The observed behavior of the mothers revealed three distinct communication patterns. The first was one chiefly of sounds. This type of mother for the most part coos, gurgles, laughs, talks and makes other sounds to her baby. Her behavior, as she bathes or "changes" or feeds the infant, is of an outgoing, verbal kind. The second pattern is where the mother's communication behavior is much more one of facial expressions. The mother catches the child's eye, smiles, frowns, or makes grimaces of one kind or another. There are verbal accompaniments, to be sure: the difference in this respect between the first and second type of mother is wholly one of degree. In the

third type of case, the mother is predominantly active and intent. The face is relatively immobile, action is swift and efficient, and there are fewer sound accompaniments as a rule.

Such are the differences in the earliest situations of expression in which infants find themselves. It is interesting to speculate on the significance of these first conditioning influences. This, however, falls more properly within the province of the psychiatrist: we are merely reporting in briefest form these first family modes of expression as evidenced in the mothers' linguistic or communication behavior. Our findings here, based on a small number of cases, are presented as highly tentative, and for suggestive purposes only.

### PRE-VERBAL EXPRESSION IN THE FAMILY

Another point, strongly emphasized by our observations, is the importance in the young child's development of pre-verbal forms of expression within the family. A good deal of the earliest communication from adult to child consists of facial expressions—smiles, grimaces, frowns, etc.—with some sound accompaniment at times. Until the child has attained some acquisition of words, communication with adults must be thus achieved. Not only moods but ideas and commands are thus transmitted. The parent frowns and utters sharp, staccato sounds; or, the mother smiles or gurgles, and food follows. These differing sights and sounds come to define behavior for the child before words are understood. Moreover, this mode of expression is retained after words come to be used. The child observes the facial expression of parents for some years and associates pleasure, anger, happiness, irritation or annoyance with them. The child learns, too, that these are advance notices often of more aggressive behavior by the parent.

<sup>1</sup> For a preliminary report on this, the reader is referred to the author's article on "Family Table Talk—An Area for Sociological Study," *The American Sociological Review*, June, 1943, pp. 295-301.



It is doubtful whether the role of facial modes of family expression to the child has been recognized adequately in the study of human behavior. Two of its implications seem particularly important. One is the fact that the child's earliest impressions of the parents are those of visual memory. This suggests that the parent has a "facial personality," and that this is the first personality which the child comes to know. A second implication is that these facial expressions and accompanying sounds are chiefly expressive forms of emotions. Here, in other words, are to be found early conditioning factors in the child's emotional development, as well as the basis of the emotional accompaniment with conversation. Studies in the beginnings of gesture patterns might be made appropriately at this point.

#### RANGE AND MEANING OF FAMILY VOCABULARY

The child's acquisition of language has been studied in the past chiefly by psychologists and educators, who have been interested in the development of the child's verbal abilities, with emphasis primarily upon the stages or age levels in regard to the number of words and the length of sentences used.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The reader who is interested in this approach should consult, among others, the following references, several of which include extended bibliographies: John E. Anderson, "The Development of Spoken Language," *The 38th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*. Bloomington: The Public School Publishing Co., 1939; E. J. Day, "The Development of Language in Twins: I. A Comparison of Twins and Single Children," *Child Development*, 1932, 3:179-190; M. S. Fisher, *Language Patterns of Preschool Children*, *Child Development Monographs*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934, No. 15, 88 pages; D. McCarthy, "A Comparison of Children's Language in Different Situations and Its Relation to Personality Traits," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 36: 583-591; D. McCarthy, "Language Development," *A Handbook of Child Psychology*, Revised Edition, edited by C. Murchison. Worcester: Clark University Press, 1933, Ch. VIII, pp. 329-373; D. McCarthy, *The Language Development of the Preschool Child*, *Institute of Child Welfare Monograph Series*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1930, No. 4, 147 pp; D. Van Alstyne, *The Environment of Three-Year Old Children: Factors*

Our approach here is the situational one, with particular reference to the variations in the situations in which the child acquires its language equipment.

From the time the child learns the first word until it learns to read, the acquisition of words is by ear, i.e., by hearing the spoken word. This period covers a range of about six years, and for children who show slight interest in reading, it remains the predominant one. During this period the family is the chief group in which the child acquires words, its relative importance depending upon the extent to which the child's contacts during the preschool period are confined to the family group.

Transcripts of table talk for 35 families in which there were children permit certain tentative generalizations concerning family linguistic situations. They are presented here in summary form.

1. The amount of conversation per family per unit of time varies tremendously. At one extreme are several families with almost no talk in a forty minute dinner. There are

*Related to Intelligence and Vocabulary Tests, Teachers College Contributions to Education*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929, No. 366, 109 pp; H. M. Williams, M. L. McFarland, and M. F. Little, *Development of Language and Vocabulary in Young Children*, *Studies in Child Welfare*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1937, Vol. XIII, No. 2, 94 pp; E. J. Day, "The Development of Language in Twins: II. The Development of Twins: Their Resemblance and Differences," *Child Development*, 3:208-316; Ruth Strang, *An Introduction to Child Study*. The Macmillan Company, Revised Edition, 1938; D. A. McCarthy, "Language Development of the Preschool Child," University of Minnesota Press, 1930; M. E. Smith, "An Investigation of the Development of the Sentence and the Extent of the Vocabulary in Young Children." University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 3, No. 5, 1926; Mary S. Fisher, "Language Patterns of Preschool Children," *Child Development Monographs*, No. 15. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934; Jean Piaget, "The Language and Thought of the Child." Harcourt, Brace, 1926; J. R. Grant, "A Child's Vocabulary and Its Growth," *Pedagogical Seminary*, 1915, 22:183-203; Edith A. Davis, "The Mental and Linguistic Superiority of Only Girls," *Child Development*, 1937, 8:130-143; Paul H. Furfey, "The Sociological Implications of Substandard English," *The American Catholic Sociological Review*. March, 1944.

long spells of silence. The air is one of marked restraint and formality. Conversation is confined almost wholly to requests for food. The parents are described as "tight-lipped" adults. At the other extreme are records of continuous table talk, often with several members of the family talking at the same time. In other words, the amount of talk to which a child is exposed within the family group varies tremendously.

Mention is made, at this point, of a children's institution in Pennsylvania, observed while this research study was in process. This institution has been in continuous operation for more than 60 years. The children, who range in age from three years upward, live in the institution, classes are conducted within it, the children march into the dining room, but no talking is allowed at the table. This is a distinct type of linguistic "home" situation, and throws possible light on the tardiness of language development of some institutional children.

2. There is a marked difference in the number of words used in the table talk of families. To a considerable extent, these differences coincide with variations in the subject matter. Many family conversations are confined largely to trite, routine matters, or to personal and kinship matters. The language here tends to be as drab and limited as the topics discussed. In varying degrees of contrast are those family conversations which cover many subjects. In table talk records equal in the total number of words recorded, one finds difference of more than 800 percent in the number of different words used.

3. The process of acquiring a vocabulary is twofold. One is to learn new words; the other, to associate meaning with them. Since words do not have a single correct meaning but have what Hayakawa calls "areas of meaning,"<sup>3</sup> the role of the family in the identification of the meaning of words for children during this early period is particularly important. A careful reading of our case material reveals considerable difference

in the meaning given to the same words in different families. Some of these differences have to do with shades of meaning; others obviously are so apparently incorrect that they reveal only the family's ignorance.

There are, however, other factors than knowledge and ignorance. Our material reveals highly significant family attitudes towards words and their meaning. In one of our families, with two children aged 7 and 9 years, there is a continuing attempt on the part of the parents to enlarge the child's semantic grasp. In the course of the family conversation, the children are asked if they understand the words used, or the children interrupt to ask, for example: "Daddy, what does emphasize mean?" Both father and mother in this family leave the dinner table to consult the dictionary, with a statement like: "Well, we might as well find out now." In contrast, there is the family where John, aged 13, used the word preference, only to have his father curse him and say: "Preference, Preference, I'll Preference you. You, with your fancy words. You can't highhat me as long as I pay the bills." Or, there is the family in which the child said: "I don't know what that means," to which the parent replied: "If I get the razor strap, you'll understand what I'm saying."

One particular aspect of this family interpretation of words calls for special comment. The child not only gets from the family the meaning of words, but also often a meaning charged with emotion. One semanticist refers to these as *loaded*<sup>4</sup> words. They are words that carry emotions as well as ideas, such as dago, kike, hunkie, louse, crackpot, etc. Or, there are those words which families use to epitomize a set of conceptions or evaluations, and which, transmitted to the child, become barriers to shield them from reality. Capitalism is synonymous with exploitation; communist means a wild-eyed, unreasonable person; a fascist is a person who disagrees with you; politics explains any public or semi-public miscarriage of your ideas of fair play.

<sup>3</sup> S. I. Hayakawa, *Language in Action*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

4. Family semantic situations vary on the basis of the role permitted to the child. Roughly speaking, our families fall into two main types in this respect, differing from each other in degree. There are the child-centered and the adult-centered table conversations. In the former, the child or children dominate the conversation, or it centers around them. Adults direct the talk toward the children, toward subjects that interest them, and seek to stimulate their participation in the conversation. In contrast are the family conversations that tend characteristically to be adult centered. Here subjects of adult interest only are discussed, child participation is ridiculed or dismissed as incidental prattle, or children are admonished to "be quiet and let your elders speak." Differences of this kind presumably have a great deal to do with a child's acquisition of the linguistic culture.

5. One cannot but notice variations in the child's participation in the family table talk on the basis of interruptions by other members of the family group. Our records show children who are seldom allowed to finish a sentence. In some families, this happens because another person, most often the mother, will interrupt to say what the child is trying to say. In other cases, the child's attempts are lost in the general welter of family words. In one of our families, a six-year old girl was not once allowed to finish a sentence without interruption or verbal help. It is pertinent to raise the question of the relationship of such situations to stammering or other speech defects in the child. Certain kinds of stammer, for example, might well be regarded as a mechanism to hold the floor, conversationally speaking, and have time to think and formulate words. Even savants do this at times, when momentarily at a loss for words.

The semantic situations which prevail in different families are presented here as of basic importance in the child's linguistic development. The number of words that a child can use, and use in their accepted meaning, determine in large measure his school progress, especially in the earlier years, and this initial success or failure speedily becomes

cumulative in its effects. Again, there are those psychologists who emphasize the role of word equipment in intelligence measurement scores. This again would be particularly true in the earlier years. Finally, words are the media through which the child learns about its world. Words are avenues by which the world we do not see comes to us. We interpret these reports on the basis of what the words in those reports mean to us. To the extent that our grasp of words is inadequate, our interpretation of this world is incorrect or incomplete. Moreover, this matter of interpretation is of much greater importance today than in former years. The colonial child, and adult, could function satisfactorily on the basis of a much more limited semantic equipment. Today, by contrast, we live in a global setting, mostly in areas of dense population, and with means of communication which deluge us with words. Our lives are filled with words, and to live satisfactorily we must know many words and be able to use them within the framework of social acceptance.

#### LEVELS OF LANGUAGE

Four sets of language levels are apparent in the family conversations recorded. One of these sets results from an age-graded use of words in those families in which there are children. At least three age levels can easily be distinguished. The first one tends to prevail when the children are quite young. Much of the family conversation is on the "baby talk" level. Later, there develops a layer which extends up to the eleventh or twelfth year. During this period, the words customarily used in family conversation, especially by the children, are relatively simple, and are of the kind that seem most easily learned by ear. Still later, as the children progress in school and acquire many words through outside contacts, a third or youth level is obtained. In families where there are no children, another or wholly adult level can be identified.

Two problems suggest themselves in a further analysis of these age levels. One of these is that of the younger children. Such children tend to be ignored in these changes.



The family seems to adjust its age level to the older children, and to ignore the younger ones, especially if the age differential is not large. Questions on word meanings raised by the younger children are given less consideration, even in our most intelligent families. Apparently this is another example of how family situations differ for individual children in the same family.

A second problem implicit in our material grows out of the differences in children in their capacity to learn by ear. The child's acquisition of words through these recurring family conversations is wholly by ear. Some children's apprehension of words is visual, they must see what they hear; others are auricular, like Mr. Santayana, they must hear what they read.<sup>5</sup> What this means is that children who acquire new words by sight are generally handicapped during this period. One cannot but reflect, too, upon the significance of this difference in the many lands and during the long years in which almost all learning was by ear.

A second set of language levels is based on sex differences. There is a sex-appropriate language for boys and one for girls. The recorded conversations of all families in which there are children bear witness to these differences and the family's consciousness of them. "Little girls do not talk that way." "A lady never raises her voice." "He sounds like a boy all right." "Her voice will be a great asset to her." This sex distinction is evident at every turn—in the words used, habits of exclamation, intensity of expression, stock phrases, as well as subjects discussed. The child learns early and is reminded constantly that there is prestige in learning the sex-appropriate forms of expression.

The third set of language levels is based on the quality of expression as determined by social usage. It is in this sense that professional students of language usually speak of levels of language, and three such levels are customarily identified. The first of these is *Informal English*, which is most generally encountered in the ordinary life of people

of good social standing. "It is the typical language of an educated person going about his everyday business." Second is *Formal English*, which is *Informal English* "refined, tidied up," and "shorn of its looseness," partaking more of the written language of educated writers. Here one says "presently" instead of soon, "prematurely" for too soon, and "it is to be regretted" instead of it's too bad. Finally, there is *Vulgate English*, the everyday speech of less educated people, bristling with "vulgar" words and "bad grammar." "I ain't got none." "I seen it." "You'll see it wrote on the door."<sup>6</sup>

Our records substantiate the existence of these levels, particularly of the Informal and Vulgate. While the main distinctions between these types are quite clear, there exist marked variations from one family to another. There are children in families whose recorded conversation shows few grammatically correct sentences; there are families at the other extreme where the parents exert meticulous pressure upon good English. These differences are not only a matter of the intelligence and verbal equipment of the parents, but also of their consciousness of the problem and attitude toward it. Due to a certain informality characterizing much of our life today, and contact of children of all classes in the public school system, many children in language-conscious families bring into their homes the Vulgate language of their associations. Some of the comic-strips do likewise, and with the prestige of the printed word. In our so-called better homes, there are constant efforts in family talk to correct or restrain these lapses. While the number of our cases do not warrant a generalization, it would appear that the higher the social level of the family the more standardized its conversation will be at the level of Informal or Formal language.

Again one cannot but speculate on the

<sup>6</sup> Leonard Bloomfield, *Language*. Revised Edition. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1940; Porter G. Perrin, *Writer's Guide and Index to English*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1942; H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*. Fourth Edition. New York: 1936; Leonard Bloomfield, "Literature and Illiterate Speech," *American Speech*, 11 pp. 432-439, 1927.

<sup>5</sup> George Santayana, *Persons and Places*. New York: George Scribner's Sons, 1944, p. 156.

significance of these language levels for the child's school progress. The schools use a relatively formalized type of English. The complex ideas and dignified subjects taught necessitate the usage of this type, so that the school naturally lays great emphasis upon proper linguistic behavior. Our records identify clearly those children who are reared in homes in which the language of the school is used, so that no linguistic difference or effort is involved in passing from one to the other. Similarly, one sees the handicap of the child, especially the younger child, who is reared in a Vulgate English using family, and who must pass back and forth constantly from school to the home. Many of these children live a kind of linguistic double life during their school years which cannot but be a handicap to their school progress. Subsequently many of them go into jobs where Vulgate English will suffice and where any other kind would be conspicuous. How stable the family form of speech may be is indicated in the question of one high school senior to another: "Is ya done y're Greek yet?"

#### LANGUAGE AS A SOCIAL INDEX

The more one reads records of family talk, the more one sees language as an index of family social characteristics. Four aspects illustrative of the usage of family language as a social index will be presented in brief.

1. *Occupation.* Many occupational groups have their own technical language, and if they live cut off from other groups, they come to use quite clearly marked varieties of speech. Our records include illustrations of this, as well as of the several ways in which occupational backgrounds appear in family conversations. Such influence may be direct, i.e., through shop talk at home; it may determine the general or non-occupational topics talked about; or it may dictate the imagery in use. People naturally draw on their daily experience for the grist for their conversational mill. Moreover, our limited number of cases suggest that the role of such occupational experience is greater at the lower occupational levels. In our pro-

fessional and executive type of families, many of whom live in suburban communities, an apparently conscious effort is made to draw a line, as it were, between the job (office, plant, shop, etc.) and the home. Some parents pride themselves is not "bringing the office" into their family life.

2. *Religion.* It was rather surprising to find the number and variety of religion-identifying references in family conversation records. These were most clear in Roman Catholic and Jewish families. References were direct, in the imagery employed, and by implication. Religious holidays, religious observations in everyday life, and relations to other cultural groups were alluded to frequently. In two of our cases, words were used, obviously with some religious implication, but meaningless to us. Requests for explanation were evaded. One was reminded here of Bloomfield's observation that "if the special (religious) group is at odds with the rest of the community, it may use its peculiarities of speech as a secret dialect, as do the English-speaking gypsies."<sup>7</sup>

3. *Geographic Area.* Linguistic diversities on geographic bases have long been emphasized by students of language. Although most clearly revealed in audible speech, they appear also in written form through the use of identifying words and expressions. These geographic speech marks appear repeatedly in our records. The family that uses the "lift" and listens to the "wireless" is obviously British. The thirteen year old miss who "is fixing to go" with "you-all" is manifestly not from Vermont. "The potatoes are all" identifies the up-state Pennsylvania German. The family who drive to "the end of the cement" came a year ago from the mountain west. Words and phrases bearing the mark of geographic origin dot almost every page of our material.

4. *Social Class.* This phrase is used to indicate general social status, as indicated by plane of living, educational attainment, occupational place, and certain additional cultural attainments. Thus conceived, social

<sup>7</sup> Bloomfield, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

class is the most striking line of cleavage in our language records. First are the distinctions in the words commonly used. At one level you go to "tea." You "eat supper" in some homes, in others you "are at dinner." At one level, one says, "Oh, I say," at another you hear "Cheez" every fourth word, as in Brooklyn. A girl may be a goil, a moll, a cutie, a lassie, or "Miss Helen." In different circles you are invited to "have one," or "have a skittle of suds," or a "shot on the run," or a "Scotch and soda."

Again, social classes differ markedly in the use of imagery in conversation, that is, in the degree of use of figurative expressions. Families at the lower social levels seem much more figurative in their language, less rational, and less logical than other folks. Our conclusions here are highly tentative, and reflect chiefly an impression.

One is on somewhat firmer ground of case material in pointing out a certain class difference in the use of words. Families in lower social classes show a tendency to slur words, to run words together, so that the combination of words and sounds come to be the important thing. These families tend, too, towards the removal of irregularities in language, a process often referred to by language students as leveling. In the families at the higher social strata, particularly among intellectual persons, every word tends to be used more in an individual sense. Sentences consist of individual units. They can be taken apart, put together again, and combined in different ways. The distinctions and subtleties in language are emphasized. In other words, as students of language put it, humble folk create language, but the upper classes develop, refine and systematize it.

Language obviously is a peculiarly revealing form of behavior. It identifies a person more effectively than almost any other form, because it is the result of slow accretion through long periods of time. Language in its existing version is the combination of habits that are so deeply ingrained and so unconscious a form of expression as to permit of little consistent dissembling. Language habits are not only singularly persistent, but also reveal life's past content.

#### FAMILY LINGUISTIC SYSTEMS

Reference to the social determinants of language must not blind us to the fact, so clearly identified in our studies, that each family has its own linguistic system. The conclusions that follow are based, not only on records of conversations but on a large number of supplementary interviews.

1. Each family has its own word peculiarities. These may be words or expressions of common usage but with distinctive family meaning or form, peculiar turns of expressions, or words which are not used elsewhere and have meaning only for the family. Karen G., who has an M.A. degree and teaches English in the high school, still says "across" for across, as does her entire family. Ruth always says "replendish" for replenish, as did her mother and her grandmother. The Powers family used the word "copistatic" which means to them only: "Well, everything went well today." The Turners say: "We must have gotten that with cigarette coupons" to mean "I can't understand how that damned thing got into this house (or room, or box)." In other words, each family has a kind of shorthand or dialect, which often serves far more effectively than ordinary words to convey meaning, to give praise, or to apply the verbal lash. These word peculiarities are a product of the family history and derive their distinctive meaning from this fact.

2. Each family has its own terms for certain aspects of family life. The most obvious illustrations of this are the words or phrases that have to do with certain parts of the body, toilet habits and toilet accessories. As a rule, a family develops these when the children are quite young, and they come to be retained as a matter of habit. But the list of instances which we have found are far more extensive. They have to do with going out at night, sleeping late on Sunday morning, family chores, social obligations, and many other aspects of life. Several of our families insist that much of this family terminology, especially dealing with more intimate matters, needs to be studied on age levels, i.e., children have their own words which they communicate to each other on



certain age levels, just as adults have their words when they discuss these matters, and this age division coincides with parent-child groupings.<sup>8</sup>

3. Each family has its word taboos or word avoidances. In part, these are reflections of the social patterns, and include words pertaining to certain parts of the body and to certain of its functions; or the religious taboos upon taking in vain the names of those worshiped or revered; or even the names of certain animals, usually because of their application to individuals. In regard to the latter, our families identified such words as bitch, snake, wolf, etc.

Within the social is the family pattern of word taboos. Our material emphasizes that these vary a great deal from one family to another, often with no consistency or underlying principle. One family speaks quite frankly about sex but strictly avoids religious words and names. Or, a family that is openly and habitually profane will punish a younger member for the inadvertent use of the word "whore." Any reference to bowel movements is labelled as distinctly in bad taste by several of our families, not otherwise conspicuous for the "cleanliness" of their conversation. The word bitch is used quite normally in Philadelphia suburban families engaged in dog breeding. Another of our families permitted no reference to alcoholic drinks or habits in any form. An adolescent in one family knew only the word rum. Beer was rum. Whiskey was rum. Wine was rum. And one drop of rum defiled. Finally, one cannot avoid citing the family in our study where the word grandmother was taboo. In this case, the husband's mother was a tall, statuesque blond not at all willing to be thus reminded that her "salad" days had passed.

It is our observation that a large part of a family's distinctive pattern of word taboos is based on the aversions of the adults or upon the marked prejudices of some one member of the family, so that the taboo

is maintained as a matter of deference. A family does not use words as a rule which remind the members of things they do not want to think about. These omissions are significant, then, in that they identify the family avoidances, based chiefly on the past experiences, or lack of experiences, of its adult members. They are deeply imbedded as a rule, and show strong emotional association.

Lengthy interviews with a number of families whose modes of expression were studied seem to warrant the following conclusions regarding family taboos. First, these word taboos which prevail in families are an important factor in determining their reaction to other persons. We think persons who violate these taboos are crude, uncouth, ill-mannered. Or, at least, a violation of them arrests our attention in a less than favorable light. Second, children learn these taboos quite early, and by the time adolescence is reached, they have become quite firmly fixed. Our families report various school difficulties growing out of the fact that children from different families observe varying word taboos, and teachers with still other taboo patterns become involved. Third, there arise the problems of adjustment between persons who establish intimate and continuing relationships with each other, as in marriage, on the basis of their respective word taboos. "Rapport," one matron pointed out, in the course of this study, "is verbal in part. These word taboos are much more important than behavior taboos, because so large a part of our social relationships is verbal." Finally, one is impressed with the fact that word taboos mean subject avoidances. This results in turn in areas of ignorance, at least so far as family instruction or insight is concerned. Particularly is this true in regard to sex. Betty Smith, the novelist, has reminded us recently<sup>9</sup> that when children ask questions about sex the parents do not know how to answer them because they do not have the words, mutually known and understood, to do so. The program of

<sup>8</sup> For an interesting case of age (i.e., parent-child) distinction, see Jerre Mangione, *Mount Allegro*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1942, pp. 54-55.

<sup>9</sup> Betty Smith, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943, p. 223.

sex education might well begin with some concern with family modes of expression.

The study of family word taboos leaves one with profound conviction of the role of language as a social discipline and culture transmitting device. Through the processes of word selection and word reaction, the family does much to introduce the child to the social and, of course, the family, code. This substantiates the conclusions of Groves when he says: "Conventions are in large measure built into the child as attitudes toward words. Some are unseemly, and as a result emotional reactions similar to primitive taboos get tied to certain acts and ideas. Other words are encouraged, and the approval helps establish a favorable disposition toward a different set of behavior and thoughts. Much of this language fellowship of child and parent is carried on without self-consciousness."<sup>10</sup>

#### FAMILY PATTERNS OF CONVERSATION

In reviewing the material on family conversations, one is impressed by the fact that most families show a specific totality or pattern which is characteristic of that particular family. These are spoken of here as family patterns of conversation, and although a phase of family linguistic systems, are reserved for separate comment. Summary types or classifications, based on a total of 82 cases, are presented briefly.

1. Family conversations may be subjective or objective. By the former are meant those cases in which the conversations are family centered. That is, the family talks chiefly about itself, its experiences, its achievements, its misfortunes and its problems. By contrast are those families in which talk centers largely upon matters outside of the family. This group may be divided in turn into two subgroups: (a) those who talk chiefly about other people—friends, enemies, relatives, business or work associates, or public personages; and, (b) those who talk about objects—airplanes, tanks,

automobiles, books, trucks, and the like.

2. Family conversations may be summarized as analytical or evaluating. The first type consists of those conversations where the general approach is upon analyzing a person, object, or event. There is description, analysis and interpretation. The emphasis is chiefly upon telling about the subject at hand. The contrasting type is concerned with judgment; motives are imputed; purposes and results are evaluated. The conclusions are chiefly (in this study) critical, depreciatory, and denunciatory. These are the families that are "always talking about somebody." In some of the families studied, where social ambitions were strong, one finds the overwhelming part of the family conversation devoted to a depreciation of the social clique or group they hope to enter.

3. A rather distinctive type of family conversation is the sharp, rapier-like kind. Here the emphasis is upon sharpness and brilliance of execution. It may take the form of making wise cracks, being smart-alecky, or being keenly clever. In any event, the main consideration is fast, sparkling, adroit expression. Further varieties within this type may be identified. In some cases, statements are made as if to attract attention primarily to the speaker. Talk is a kind of exhibitionism or showmanship. It is as though the person sought to give a clever performance rather than to attempt to convey a thought. The speaker is interested in juggling deftly, no matter whether the balls he juggles are of tinsel or of gold. In some cases one observes a sadistic performance. Sometimes a habitual phrase is clearly indicative of such sadistic intent. For example, one adult in the study habitually used the phrase: "So I stuck my knife in there and turned it around to see how they would squirm," to indicate his participation in a discussion. The main purpose appears to be that of hurting. Here one finds the cutting speech, the stinging remark. You say something to put someone in his place. In the case of three persons included in this study, more than nine out of every ten remarks recorded for them were of this kind.

<sup>10</sup> Ernest R. Groves, *The Family and Its Social Functions*. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1940, p. 152.

4. Family patterns of conversation vary greatly in regard to their general tonal quality. At the one extreme are those which abound with "snarl words," and much of the conversation consists of a spasmodic throwing at each other of verbal bites like one throws sticks at a dog. There are loud noises, yelling, wrangling, constant interruptions, so that the whole performance partakes of the nature of static on the radio. At the other extreme are the family conversations which suggest, by way of contrast, the Sunday afternoon symphony. A quiet and polite exchange of ideas goes on, "purr-words" dominate, there is politeness and consideration when accompanied by disagreement. Persons are allowed to finish a sentence. Even the children are accorded these courtesies.

5. The topics of conversation in 82 families show a rich variety, but the topics discussed by any one family seem as a rule rather limited. In other words, most families talk habitually about a few things. One cannot escape the conviction that the range is determined not so much by the intellectual capacities of the persons involved as by their predilections. For example, some of our highly intelligent families devote their conversational prowess to a very limited number of topics which were discussed both *ad infinitum* and *ad nauseam*. Some families, for example, talk constantly about the neighbors' children; others, about the boss; others, about the war, or the movies, or "that man Roosevelt." It is interesting to note how much certain topics of conversation become a matter of habit, a fact which has very great meaning for the child and its induction into the culture.

When one notes these and other characteristics of family conversations, one cannot but be impressed with the distinctness of the pattern in any individual family. Family conversation is, from one point of view, a series of habits, of the things that are talked about, how they are discussed, of the attitudes which prevail, of the kinds of words that are used, and of the degree of conversational etiquette reciprocally accorded.

#### SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF SPEECH

Language is above all a matter of sound. Through the long ages of man's past, most persons were illiterate, and to them, language was exclusively a vocal form of expression. Today, the recorded form of language is used increasingly; nevertheless, the most frequent usage remains the spoken word. While this study concerned itself chiefly with written records of family conversations, some notes were made upon certain characteristics of speech which seemed of importance to the child and his induction into the culture.<sup>11</sup>

1. *Pronunciation.* Through commonly accepted usage and standard works of reference, society establishes certain forms of word-pronunciation. Departure from these accepted forms, more than those due to individual variations in voice timbre, serve to attract attention. These have been noted in this study. They occur constantly, and with marked frequency in certain families. Some of the errors recorded are slight, so that the meaning is still clear; in other cases, families use words which leave one wholly at a loss to understand what is meant. Further observations suggest two conclusions. First, families in which the adults aspire to better speech (and to higher social position) offend frequently in this respect. Apparently, words are seen in print, an effort is made to use them, and since they have not been learned by ear, they are mispronounced. The self-educated are particularly apt to mispronounce words. Second, one notes repeatedly a sensitiveness to correction of pronunciation. Our records reveal several cases of considerable tension between members of families resulting from attempted corrections.

Considering the mispronunciations noted as a whole, one is impressed with two further facts. First is their significance for children in their educational progress, particularly in its early stages, before the school can reorient the use of vocabulary; the second is

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Edward Sapir, "Speech as a Personality Trait," *The American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1927, pp. 892-906, for reference to such characteristics.



the significance of these word-mistakes in social relationships. Consistent or conspicuous mispronunciation of words identifies the speaker as ignorant, or uncouth, or results in his or her being misunderstood or misunderstanding others. The old saying "She looked like a lady until she opened her mouth," is at least partially applicable here. The relationship of security in word pronunciation to a sense of personality security is for the psychiatrist to determine.

2. *Accent.* There is a stress, or increased force given to certain syllables in speaking which, together with certain habits of pronunciation, is spoken of here as accent. This is an easily noticeable characteristic of speech in those whose accents differ from that of the observer. Methods for its scientific recording and analysis are rather undeveloped. Although a number of observations were made, the conclusions to be presented are highly tentative. It would appear that accent is largely a matter of geographic or nationality origin and of social and educational status, and to a lesser extent a family and individual product. One comes to be impressed particularly that, in the heterogeneous life of America, with its diverse nationality and linguistic groups, accent is peculiarly indicative of social type. This latter phrase is used to mean the constructs which the group arrives at by selecting and abstracting accentuated forms of conduct displayed by some of its members and having specific connotations in terms of interests, concerns and dispositions of the group.<sup>12</sup>

3. *Gestures.* This term is used here to mean bodily accompaniments of speech, for purposes of emphasis or explanation. Students have regarded these generally as a culturally patterned development, i.e., certain gestures characterizing entire groups. For example, Child reports that "gestures are an important part of the Italian's equipment for communication. They are used a great deal as an accessory to ordinary conversation, especially when speech is excited

or emphatic. There are also a number of special gestures which convey a specific meaning by themselves."<sup>13</sup>

Observations made in the course of this study suggest that there is also a family pattern of gestures. Our notes indicate repeated instances of some habitual distinctive use of hands or body by several members of the same family. These similarities occur usually between parent and child and at times become so identical as to be almost uncanny. The use of gestures strikes one in particular as a kind of barometer of nervous output in conversation. Gestures are accompanied usually by heightened or intensified expressions of energy. This multiple form of expression, with its increased demands upon nervous energy, would seem to be of very great significance in relation to the other forms of expenditure of energy by the individual.

*Summary.* In presenting the findings of this study, an effort has been made to avoid an arbitrary or mechanical classification of data in the form of statistical tables, but rather to summarize the picture so as to identify its main features. Underlying the foregoing features, as indicated, are these conclusions or implications underlying the study as a whole.

1. Language is a distinct form of culture and needs to be considered separately as such.

2. Language is a mechanism or medium of social interaction and for the transmission of all forms of culture. It is a symbolic technique enabling communication between individuals.

3. Modes of expression constitute a distinctive aspect of family situations. Each family has its own words, signs, gestures, pet phrases, humorous references, special words of condemnation, favorite topics and characteristic forms of expression.

4. Language is behavior, much like manners or dress, whose standards and requirements vary on the basis of class, origin, occupation, activities, and the like.

<sup>12</sup> Samuel Strong, "Social Types in a Minority Group," *American Journal of Sociology*. March, 1943, pp. 563-573.

<sup>13</sup> Irvin L. Child, *Italian or American*. New Haven: The Yale University Press, 1943, pp. 22-23.

5. Language, early learned and constantly associated with every other aspect of culture, comes in a peculiar way to serve as a symbol of home, family, class, state, status, and country. This explains why, as

Lowie puts it, "nowhere is the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee a more powerful barrier than in language." Students of behavior, and even of international relations, may do well to remember this.

## THE STEPCHILD

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WHEN one reads the newspapers and other popular literature, he finds the term *stepchild* tossed about with reckless abandon. Our local weekly concluded that a certain highway "had long been the forgotten stepchild" of the State Highway Commission. In 1939 Pearson and Allen's, Washington Merry-Go-Round column, stated that "the department of labor had become the stepchild of the New Deal." The same columnists wrote in 1941 that in the system of defense production, little business had become a stepchild to whom a few occasional scraps were thrown. An article in the *Coronet* of December, 1943, entitled "Arthritis: Medicine's Stepchild," declares that money is spent freely in research on tuberculosis, infantile paralysis, cancer, and diabetes, while the arthritics are permitted to suffer from neglect. Loring Benson Priest treats of the neglect and mistreatment of the American Indian in his book, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*.<sup>1</sup> Jacob Manuel Mayer calls the Jews, "Stepchildren of the World."<sup>2</sup> Sarah Gertrude Millen has called the half-castes of South Africa, "God's Stepchildren."<sup>3</sup> So deeply embedded in our thinking is this stereotype that it is used uncritically even by philosopher and sociologist. Overstreet, the philosopher, writes: "At the present time, music is a stepchild of education."<sup>4</sup> Bossard, the sociologist, states: "Until recently social research has been the Cinder-

ella of Science, neglected and sitting in the corner."<sup>5</sup>

Evidently the stepchild has received the treatment accorded by tradition to this hapless creature—the subject has been ignored and neglected by writers who range all about it but do not touch it. A check of *Child Development Abstracts* through 1943 yielded two articles and they were published in Germany. Thus far one article has been located in an American scholarly journal.<sup>6</sup> The Federal Children's Bureau in 1942 published *A Glossary of Certain Child-Welfare Terms*, but it did not include the stepchild. In Fairchild's *Dictionary of Sociology* (1944) the term does not appear.

The idea prevailing in folklore is that in the end retributive justice is meted out to the cruel stepmother, while the stepdaughter, despite harsh treatment, emerges from the ordeal with angelic whiteness. Facts, however, do not support these generalizations.

In the first place, not all stepmothers are cruel. Some homes are improved by the arrival of the new mother. We recall the stepmother of Abraham Lincoln of whom Barton wrote: "She transformed the home of the cheerless widower and his two motherless children into a spot of pleasant associations and happy memories."<sup>7</sup>

Oftentimes a stepmother is crowned with success when, realizing that she faces a difficult situation, sets about to deal with it in an intelligent manner. Probably the

<sup>1</sup> *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*. Brunswick, N.J.: 1942.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Mayer, *Stepchildren of the World*. New York: 1934.

<sup>3</sup> Sarah Gertrude Millen, *God's Stepchildren*. New York: 1924.

<sup>4</sup> H. A. Overstreet, *About Ourselves*. New York: 1927, p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> J. H. S. Bossard, *Marriage and the Child*. Philadelphia: p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Else P. Heilpern, "Psychological Problems of Stepchildren," *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 1943, 30:163-176.

<sup>7</sup> William E. Barton, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*. Indianapolis: 1925, Vol. I, p. 118.

woman who was rewarded by this letter from her stepson did not merit it by mere chance. He wrote: "Dear Mom, You're a swell person, and I really love you."

We cannot accept the traditional ideas relative to the stepmother, neither can we concur in those relative to the stepchildren. Contrary to the folk-tales, not all stepdaughters, like Cinderella, marry charming princes and live happily ever thereafter. Many stepchildren are exceedingly unhappy, many develop warped personalities, and many become delinquent.

As yet there is no adequate statistical measure of the number of step-relatives in our population. Some inadequate samples indicate that about six percent of the children have step-parents. It would seem that this group is sufficiently large to merit some attention.

Basically the family is an agency devoted to the care and socialization of children. It does not seem, however, that the child's biological parents need necessarily be included in the family circle. Psychological bonds may be close and intimate even where the physical relationship is lacking. It appears to be of paramount importance for the child to be on confidential and sympathetic relations with the adults in his immediate world. All other things being equal, however, the child in the home with an unbroken family structure usually is most advantageously situated. When a break comes, either through death or divorce, the child is subjected to an emotional upheaval which may have far-reaching results. Many attempt to reorganize the broken homes through the introduction of a substitute parent. How well, we may ask, does the family with a step-parent succeed in carrying out its basic functions so far as the children are concerned? Do any warped personalities come out of this situation or are they all well-balanced and wholesome?

The step-relationship seems to be a factor in juvenile delinquency. Armstrong,<sup>8</sup> Fortes,<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Clairette P. Armstrong, *Six Hundred and Sixty Runaway Boys*. Boston: 1932, p. 73.

<sup>9</sup> M. Fortes, *Sociological Review*. July, 1933, 25:156.

Slawson,<sup>10</sup> and Sullenger<sup>11</sup> present data which make it appear that the presence of a step-parent in the home is in some way related to juvenile delinquency. But we must not be too dogmatic in our conclusion. We cannot state with any exactitude to what extent a step-parent in the home is in and of itself a factor contributing directly to juvenile delinquency. On the basis of a number of studies it would appear that there is no positive correlation between family structure and the behavior of children. The character of parent or step-parent is of greater consequence than his or her presence in or absence from the household. It is the subtler aspects of family life—the attitudes and personal relationships—rather than the formal and external aspects which are significant.

According to certain data, the presence of a step-parent is a more potent factor in the delinquency of girls than of boys. According to the White House Conference Study<sup>12</sup> the percentage for girl delinquents was twice that of the boys. Breckenridge and Abbott<sup>13</sup> also show a higher percentage of delinquency among girls in homes with step-parents. Kühn, on the basis of her German study, concluded that "stepdaughters succumb more often to the situation than do stepsons."<sup>14</sup> Conclusions, however, relative to delinquency and the stepchild must be drawn with caution, but there are, admittedly, more factors conducive to delinquent behavior in his home situation than in that of any other child.

Many children must make one or more intermediate adjustments in the period between the break-up of the first and the establishment of the second home. A child may be under the care of housekeepers or live with relatives to whom attachments may

<sup>10</sup> John E. Slawson, *The Delinquent Boy*. Boston: 1926, p. 382.

<sup>11</sup> Earl T. Sullenger, *Social Determinants of Juvenile Delinquency*. New York: 1936, p. 140.

<sup>12</sup> The White House Conference, *The Adolescent in the family*. New York: p. 323.

<sup>13</sup> *The Delinquent Child and the Home*. New York: 1912, pp. 119-121.

<sup>14</sup> *Child Development Abstracts and Bibliography*. Vol. IV, No. 3, Abstract 829.



develop because of which adjustment to the new home becomes the more difficult. One girl resented the coming of a stepmother because a housekeeper whom she liked was thus crowded out. When a child has to deal with a succession of strange housekeepers, who know little and care less about directing him in his habit formation, he resents having the accustomed inconsistency disturbed by a stepmother who tries to bring order out of the chaos. One boy interpreted his stepmother's efforts at discipline as an interference which amply justified his belief that stepmothers, in general, were mean and cruel.

Frequently children live with grandparents by whom they are pampered. The grandmother is a more dynamic influence than the grandfather, and pediatricians have come to the conclusion that "grandmothers exert an extraordinarily pernicious influence on their grand-children."<sup>15</sup> After living with an overindulgent grandmother, the pampered child will resent any restrictions imposed by a stepmother.

When a stepmother enters a home, the child frequently views her with distrust. The older school books fed children on the Cinderella story and its variations in which the stepmother was characteristically given an evil rôle. The child has heard of the cruel stepmother in the conversation of his elders, and even from the lips of children. "My first thought of anything about step-parents," wrote a college girl, "came just before my father's second marriage when a girl of my age teased me about my red-haired stepmother and how cross she would be." The young stepmother, in particular, is pictured as a cold, selfish gold-digger who married the man for his money and cares little for his children! This has tended to turn children against the stepmother. A young man who had been conditioned by these popular notions said, "I have been in hot water for the last twenty-one years, always looking forward to the possibility of having a stepmother."

In addition to the mind poisoning by folk tales and gossip, there is the interference by relatives. One grandmother told her grandson that his stepmother was not a good mother and that he could run away from home and come to her whenever he wished to do so. Consequently, whenever he wanted sympathy he would go to her. One boy would hear these words from his grandmother: "Oh, you poor unfortunate child! How you must miss your dear, sweet mother!" In such situations, the stepmother can readily develop a dislike, even a hatred, for the grandmother and this may react unfavorably upon the child. One stepmother disliked her stepson because he resembled his paternal grandmother. "I can't stand to have to look at Buddy," she said. "He is a constant reminder of my mother-in-law, and I just hate her." Her stepson had become a symbol, or an object upon which her dislikes were focused—he became a scapegoat. She could not take out her spite on her mother-in-law and so the stepson had to be the recipient of all her hatred.

When a divorced parent, who has custody of the children, remarries, the other parent often schemes to turn the children against both the step-parent and the ex-mate.

Oftentimes the departed parent is idealized and the substitute parent cannot possibly measure up to this standard. A nineteen-year old boy idolized his father who had been dead more than seventeen years. "In the boy's mind the father was no ordinary man. . . . He was a prosperous contractor, an employer of men. He was a successful business man, not a bum."<sup>16</sup> The stepfather was so far inferior that the boy could not call him "father." At times, when the father dies or leaves while the child is a mere infant so that he has no memory of the parent, if things do not go well at home, he builds up an ideal parent and projects that construct upon the absent one. At times this idealization is rudely shocked. Through a period of years a boy had built up an idealistic picture of his father whom

<sup>15</sup> *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. 1937, 7:378.

<sup>16</sup> *International Journal of Individual Psychology*. 1935, 1:60.

he had never seen. When the father appeared, the boy was sadly disappointed in him. It is not surprising that a child idealizes his departed parent, for usually he has an unequal chance of having a second home equally as good as the first one. If his mother has died and there are several children, the father needs a housekeeper, but his range of choice is more limited than at the time of his first marriage—prospective wives hesitate about assuming responsibility for someone else's children. Because of this, the second wife often comes from a lower social stratum than the first one and is not accepted readily by the children.

The second marriage is quite often a business proposition—help is needed in caring for the children. But desirable caretakers are not numerous, and frequently a widower with children finds a widow who has several children of her own who need a father. This, then becomes more truly a merger than a marriage. The merging of two or more sets of children brings further complications in the step-relationship. Irritations, tensions, and personality clashes are inevitable when they are brought together in the intimacy of the household after having spent their first years under different circumstances. At times when the several sets of children have quarrels, the parents take sides—and this does not enhance family unity. The situation becomes increasingly complex when there are *his* children, *her* children, and *their* children.

When a step-parent enters a new home there is danger of favoritism. A parent usually is partial to his or her own children. A stepfather compares his child with the wife's own child to the disadvantage of the latter. Frequently a stepmother gives devoted care to her stepchildren until a child is born to her of this second marriage. Then, seemingly she will devote herself completely to her own child to the neglect of her husband's children. Here the stepmother is in a difficult situation. In an ordinary, unbroken family, the first child often resents the arrival of a second one—he is then dethroned while the new baby becomes the

center of attention. In the split home, it is easy for the stepchild to charge his stepmother with neglect when it may be only a normal situation.

Because of this proneness to favoritism, the control of the stepchild is difficult. It is easier, by far, to control a foster child. The foster child is on a basis of equality so far as both parents are concerned—he belongs to neither one. The stepchild, however, belongs to only one parent, and partiality often manifests itself. Very often the stepchild resents direction by the step-parent and thus it is difficult to establish a balanced bi-parental control. The child soon becomes aware of the situation and plays one parent off against the other.

In our culture the furnishing of affection and emotional security is a basic function of the family. Not everywhere, to be sure, does this hold true. Among the Dobu of the South Seas, for example, suspicion and insecurity rather than affection and stability oftentimes characterize the immediate family—children must go outside this smaller circle for affection.<sup>17</sup> In our society, however, with its increasing impersonal relationships, it is becoming all the more important for the family to make provision for the child's security. The child craves security, but it differs from that desired by the adult. The adult is more concerned about financial stability than is the child. The child needs to be loved, he must have assurance that he is loved, and he must feel that he is important to someone. The family, to be sure, is not the only source of this emotional security, for he may gain some of it from other intimate groups, such as the gang. Nevertheless, the small family system in America is the child's Rock of Gibraltar.

If a parent in a well-integrated family dies, the child loses a companion, a sympathetic friend, a counsellor to whom he has been closely attached and this may have a shattering and disastrous effect. The routinized pattern of life in the home is often changed with abruptness and the child

<sup>17</sup> R. F. Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu*. New York: 1932, pp. 71-72, 277-279, *passim*.

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is left emotionally adrift—he no longer has a haven of security to which he may return with confidence after buffetings on the outside. The reconstitution of the home through a new marriage is problematical and only rarely does it restore the old sense of security. Oftentimes a child is “bounced here and there like a ball” and does not know where he belongs nor to whom he may go. The child has a craving for affection and needs someone to whom he may develop a satisfying attachment. Too often there is a sense of distance between the child and the new parent while his real parent is not the same as before because of the changed situation in the home. He may have attached himself more closely than ever to the surviving parent and resent bitterly the new parent who, in his thinking, is crowding him out. The step-parent is an interloper with whom he must share the attentions of his real parent. The feeling is intensified if the step-parent has children of his or her own. At times estrangement between the child and his real parent has resulted—the child considers that his own parent is less affectionate than before; he feels that he is being rejected. In one household the father had five children by his first wife, the stepmother had four children by her first husband and then there were seven offspring of this second marriage. In this complex family setting of sixteen children, with thirteen of them living at home, one of the husband's sons became unhappy. He felt lost in the agglomeration and longed for more personal attention than he was receiving. But in such a multitude there was not a sufficient supply of affection to be spread around, except very thinly.

The introduction of a substitute parent into a home may become a serious liability to the child, unless the new parent is able to win his confidence and respect without, at the same time, interfering with the child's relation to his real parent.<sup>18</sup>

It behooves us to be guarded when draw-

ing conclusions relative to the behavior of the stepchild because there are so many complicating factors in the situation. The child's age, for instance, must be taken into consideration in any attempt to account for his attitudes. An infant will make adjustments to a stepmother more readily than an adolescent. “I was only a year or two old,” wrote a college girl, “when mother remarried and I grew up thinking Daddy Ben was my real father. I loved Daddy Ben. He was always good to me.” But age alone does not tell the whole story. One girl who acquired her stepmother at the age of three and one-half years became bitter against her. Probably her six older sisters had considerable influence over her.

By way of conclusion, we may state that the stepchild has all the problems of any other child and usually has them in larger dosages. In addition he has problems which stem directly from the step-relationship as it manifests itself in our modern, urban culture. A number of stepchildren have become delinquent and criminal but, in many instances, on the basis of available data, no part of it can be charged to the step-relationship. There are, also, conditions conducive to delinquency in homes with unbroken family structures. Parallel situations are found in “split homes” where there is good and sufficient cause for delinquency wholly apart from the step-relationship. There are, however, factors in the home with a step-parent which are more problematical than in other homes. There is, for instance, a greater incidence of emotional insecurity with its disorganizing influence. Favoritism is often found in an unbroken and so-called normal home, but the home with a substitute parent is particularly conducive to the expression of partiality. Some children are unwanted by one or both parents, but the probability of being an unwanted child in a home with a step-parent is even greater. Problems of discipline are not absent from unbroken homes, but usually they are attended by more complicating factors in the “split home.” Nevertheless, many stepchildren have made adjustments which are no

<sup>18</sup> The White House Conference, *The Adolescent in the Family*. New York: 1934, p. 120.



less wholesome than those of children in unbroken homes. In some instances, the coming of a step-parent has been to the ad-

vantage of the child, for the new parent has been able to enter into a more sympathetic intimacy with the child than his own parent.

## SOME PRINCIPLES OF STRATIFICATION

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IN A PREVIOUS PAPER some concepts for handling the phenomena of social inequality were presented.<sup>1</sup> In the present paper a further step in stratification theory is undertaken—an attempt to show the relationship between stratification and the rest of the social order.<sup>2</sup> Starting from the proposition that no society is "classless," or unstratified, an effort is made to explain, in functional terms, the universal necessity which calls forth stratification in any social system. Next, an attempt is made to explain the roughly uniform distribution of prestige as between the major types of positions in every society. Since, however, there occur between one society and another great differences in the degree and kind of stratification, some attention is also given to the varieties of social inequality and the variable factors that give rise to them.

Clearly, the present task requires two different lines of analysis—one to understand the universal, the other to understand the variable features of stratification. Naturally each line of inquiry aids the other and is indispensable, and in the treatment that follows the two will be interwoven, although, because of space limitations, the emphasis will be on the universals.

Throughout, it will be necessary to keep in mind one thing—namely, that the discussion relates to the system of positions, not to the individuals occupying those positions. It is one thing to ask why different positions

carry different degrees of prestige, and quite another to ask how certain individuals get into those positions. Although, as the argument will try to show, both questions are related, it is essential to keep them separate in our thinking. Most of the literature on stratification has tried to answer the second question (particularly with regard to the ease or difficulty of mobility between strata) without tackling the first. The first question, however, is logically prior and, in the case of any particular individual or group, factually prior.

### THE FUNCTIONAL NECESSITY OF STRATIFICATION

Curiously, however, the main functional necessity explaining the universal presence of stratification is precisely the requirement faced by any society of placing and motivating individuals in the social structure. As a functioning mechanism a society must somehow distribute its members in social positions and induce them to perform the duties of these positions. It must thus concern itself with motivation at two different levels: to instill in the proper individuals the desire to fill certain positions, and, once in these positions, the desire to perform the duties attached to them. Even though the social order may be relatively static in form, there is a continuous process of metabolism as new individuals are born into it, shift with age, and die off. Their absorption into the positional system must somehow be arranged and motivated. This is true whether the system is competitive or non-competitive. A competitive system gives greater importance to the motivation to achieve positions, whereas a non-competitive system gives perhaps greater importance to the mo-

<sup>1</sup> Kingsley Davis, "A Conceptual Analysis of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 7: 309-321, June, 1942.

<sup>2</sup> The writers regret (and beg indulgence) that the present essay, a condensation of a longer study, covers so much in such short space that adequate evidence and qualification cannot be given and that as a result what is actually very tentative is presented in an unfortunately dogmatic manner.

tivation to perform the duties of the positions; but in any system both types of motivation are required.

If the duties associated with the various positions were all equally pleasant to the human organism, all equally important to societal survival, and all equally in need of the same ability or talent, it would make no difference who got into which positions, and the problem of social placement would be greatly reduced. But actually it does make a great deal of difference who gets into which positions, not only because some positions are inherently more agreeable than others, but also because some require special talents or training and some are functionally more important than others. Also, it is essential that the duties of the positions be performed with the diligence that their importance requires. Inevitably, then, a society must have, first, some kind of rewards that it can use as inducements, and, second, some way of distributing these rewards differentially according to positions. The rewards and their distribution become a part of the social order, and thus give rise to stratification.

One may ask what kind of rewards a society has at its disposal in distributing its personnel and securing essential services. It has, first of all, the things that contribute to sustenance and comfort. It has, second, the things that contribute to humor and diversion. And it has, finally, the things that contribute to self respect and ego expansion. The last, because of the peculiarly social character of the self, is largely a function of the opinion of others, but it nonetheless ranks in importance with the first two. In any social system all three kinds of rewards must be dispensed differentially according to positions.

In a sense the rewards are "built into" the position. They consist in the "rights" associated with the position, plus what may be called its accompaniments or perquisites. Often the rights, and sometimes the accompaniments, are functionally related to the duties of the position. (Rights as viewed by the incumbent are usually duties as viewed by other members of the community.) However, there may be a host of subsidiary rights

and perquisites that are not essential to the function of the position and have only an indirect and symbolic connection with its duties, but which still may be of considerable importance in inducing people to seek the positions and fulfil the essential duties.

If the rights and perquisites of different positions in a society must be unequal, then the society must be stratified, because that is precisely what stratification means. Social inequality is thus an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons. Hence every society, no matter how simple or complex, must differentiate persons in terms of both prestige and esteem, and must therefore possess a certain amount of institutionalized inequality.

It does not follow that the amount or type of inequality need be the same in all societies. This is largely a function of factors that will be discussed presently.

#### THE TWO DETERMINANTS OF POSITIONAL RANK

Granting the general function that inequality subserves, one can specify the two factors that determine the relative rank of different positions. In general those positions convey the best reward, and hence have the highest rank, which (a) have the greatest importance for the society and (b) require the greatest training or talent. The first factor concerns function and is a matter of relative significance; the second concerns means and is a matter of scarcity.

*Differential Functional Importance.* Actually a society does not need to reward positions in proportion to their functional importance. It merely needs to give sufficient reward to them to insure that they will be filled competently. In other words, it must see that less essential positions do not compete successfully with more essential ones. If a position is easily filled, it need not be heavily rewarded, even though important. On the other hand, if it is important but hard to fill, the reward must be high enough to get it filled anyway. Functional importance

is therefore a necessary but not a sufficient cause of high rank being assigned to a position.<sup>3</sup>

*Differential Scarcity of Personnel.* Practically all positions, no matter how acquired, require some form of skill or capacity for performance. This is implicit in the very notion of position, which implies that the incumbent must, by virtue of his incumbency, accomplish certain things.

There are, ultimately, only two ways in which a person's qualifications come about: through inherent capacity or through training. Obviously, in concrete activities both are always necessary, but from a practical standpoint the scarcity may lie primarily in one or the other, as well as in both. Some positions require innate talents of such high degree that the persons who fill them are bound to be rare. In many cases, however, talent is fairly abundant in the population but the training process is so long, costly, and elaborate that relatively few can qualify. Modern medicine, for example, is within the mental capacity of most individuals, but a medical education is so burdensome and expensive that virtually none would undertake it if the position of the M.D. did not carry a reward commensurate with the sacrifice.

If the talents required for a position are abundant and the training easy, the method of acquiring the position may have little to

do with its duties. There may be, in fact, a virtually accidental relationship. But if the skills required are scarce by reason of the rarity of talent or the costliness of training, the position, if functionally important, must have an attractive power that will draw the necessary skills in competition with other positions. This means, in effect, that the position must be high in the social scale—must command great prestige, high salary, ample leisure, and the like.

*How Variations Are to Be Understood.* In so far as there is a difference between one system of stratification and another, it is attributable to whatever factors affect the two determinants of differential reward—namely, functional importance and scarcity of personnel. Positions important in one society may not be important in another, because the conditions faced by the societies, or their degree of internal development, may be different. The same conditions, in turn, may affect the question of scarcity; for in some societies the stage of development, or the external situation, may wholly obviate the necessity of certain kinds of skill or talent. Any particular system of stratification, then, can be understood as a product of the special conditions affecting the two aforementioned grounds of differential reward.

#### MAJOR SOCIETAL FUNCTIONS AND STRATIFICATION

*Religion.* The reason why religion is necessary is apparently to be found in the fact that human society achieves its unity primarily through the possession by its members of certain ultimate values and ends in common. Although these values and ends are subjective, they influence behavior, and their integration enables the society to operate as a system. Derived neither from inherited nor from external nature, they have evolved as a part of culture by communication and moral pressure. They must, how-

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, functional importance is difficult to establish. To use the position's prestige to establish it, as is often unconsciously done, constitutes circular reasoning from our point of view. There are, however, two independent clues: (a) the degree to which a position is functionally unique, there being no other positions that can perform the same function satisfactorily; (b) the degree to which other positions are dependent on the one in question. Both clues are best exemplified in organized systems of positions built around one major function. Thus, in most complex societies the religious, political, economic, and educational functions are handled by distinct structures not easily interchangeable. In addition, each structure possesses many different positions, some clearly dependent on, if not subordinate to, others. In sum, when an institutional nucleus becomes differentiated around one main function, and at the same time organizes a large portion of the population into its relationships, the key positions in it are of the high-

est functional importance. The absence of such specialization does not prove functional unimportance, for the whole society may be relatively unspecialized; but it is safe to assume that the more important functions receive the first and clearest structural differentiation.



ever, appear to the members of the society to have some reality, and it is the role of religious belief and ritual to supply and reinforce this appearance of reality. Through belief and ritual the common ends and values are connected with an imaginary world symbolized by concrete sacred objects, which world in turn is related in a meaningful way to the facts and trials of the individual's life. Through the worship of the sacred objects and the beings they symbolize, and the acceptance of supernatural prescriptions that are at the same time codes of behavior, a powerful control over human conduct is exercised, guiding it along lines sustaining the institutional structure and conforming to the ultimate ends and values.

If this conception of the role of religion is true, one can understand why in every known society the religious activities tend to be under the charge of particular persons, who tend thereby to enjoy greater rewards than the ordinary societal member. Certain of the rewards and special privileges may attach to only the highest religious functionaries, but others usually apply, if such exists, to the entire sacerdotal class.

Moreover, there is a peculiar relation between the duties of the religious official and the special privileges he enjoys. If the supernatural world governs the destinies of men more ultimately than does the real world, its earthly representative, the person through whom one may communicate with the supernatural, must be a powerful individual. He is a keeper of sacred tradition, a skilled performer of the ritual, and an interpreter of lore and myth. He is in such close contact with the gods that he is viewed as possessing some of their characteristics. He is, in short, a bit sacred, and hence free from some of the more vulgar necessities and controls.

It is no accident, therefore, that religious functionaries have been associated with the very highest positions of power, as in theocratic regimes. Indeed, looking at it from this point of view, one may wonder why it is that they do not get *entire* control over their societies. The factors that prevent this are worthy of note.

In the first place, the amount of technical

competence necessary for the performance of religious duties is small. Scientific or artistic capacity is not required. Anyone can set himself up as enjoying an intimate relation with deities, and nobody can successfully dispute him. Therefore, the factor of scarcity of personnel does not operate in the technical sense.

One may assert, on the other hand, that religious ritual is often elaborate and religious lore abstruse, and that priestly ministrations require tact, if not intelligence. This is true, but the technical requirements of the profession are for the most part adventitious, not related to the end in the same way that science is related to air travel. The priest can never be free from competition, since the criteria of whether or not one has genuine contact with the supernatural are never strictly clear. It is this competition that debases the priestly position below what might be expected at first glance. That is why priestly prestige is highest in those societies where membership in the profession is rigidly controlled by the priestly guild itself. That is why, in part at least, elaborate devices are utilized to stress the identification of the person with his office—spectacular costume, abnormal conduct, special diet, segregated residence, celibacy, conspicuous leisure, and the like. In fact, the priest is always in danger of becoming somewhat discredited—as happens in a secularized society—because in a world of stubborn fact, ritual and sacred knowledge alone will not grow crops or build houses. Furthermore, unless he is protected by a professional guild, the priest's identification with the supernatural tends to preclude his acquisition of abundant worldly goods.

As between one society and another it seems that the highest general position awarded the priest occurs in the medieval type of social order. Here there is enough economic production to afford a surplus, which can be used to support a numerous and highly organized priesthood; and yet the populace is unlettered and therefore credulous to a high degree. Perhaps the most extreme example is to be found in the Buddhism of Tibet, but others are en-

countered in the Catholicism of feudal Europe, the Inca regime of Peru, the Brahminism of India, and the Mayan priesthood of Yucatan. On the other hand, if the society is so crude as to have no surplus and little differentiation, so that every priest must be also a cultivator or hunter, the separation of the priestly status from the others has hardly gone far enough for priestly prestige to mean much. When the priest actually has high prestige under these circumstances, it is because he also performs other important functions (usually political and medical).

In an extremely advanced society built on scientific technology, the priesthood tends to lose status, because sacred tradition and supernaturalism drop into the background. The ultimate values and common ends of the society tend to be expressed in less anthropomorphic ways, by officials who occupy fundamentally political, economic, or educational rather than religious positions. Nevertheless, it is easily possible for intellectuals to exaggerate the degree to which the priesthood in a presumably secular milieu has lost prestige. When the matter is closely examined the urban proletariat, as well as the rural citizenry, proves to be surprisingly god-fearing and priest-ridden. No society has become so completely secularized as to liquidate entirely the belief in transcendental ends and supernatural entities. Even in a secularized society some system must exist for the integration of ultimate values, for their ritualistic expression, and for the emotional adjustments required by disappointment, death, and disaster.

*Government.* Like religion, government plays a unique and indispensable part in society. But in contrast to religion, which provides integration in terms of sentiments, beliefs, and rituals, it organizes the society in terms of law and authority. Furthermore, it orients the society to the actual rather than the unseen world.

The main functions of government are, internally, the ultimate enforcement of norms, the final arbitration of conflicting interests, and the overall planning and direction of society; and externally, the handling of war and diplomacy. To carry out these functions

it acts as the agent of the entire people, enjoys a monopoly of force, and controls all individuals within its territory.

Political action, by definition, implies authority. An official can command because he has authority, and the citizen must obey because he is subject to that authority. For this reason stratification is inherent in the nature of political relationships.

So clear is the power embodied in political position that political inequality is sometimes thought to comprise all inequality. But it can be shown that there are other bases of stratification, that the following controls operate in practice to keep political power from becoming complete: (a) The fact that the actual holders of political office, and especially those determining top policy must necessarily be few in number compared to the total population. (b) The fact that the rulers represent the interest of the group rather than of themselves, and are therefore restricted in their behavior by rules and mores designed to enforce this limitation of interest. (c) The fact that the holder of political office has his authority by virtue of his office and nothing else, and therefore any special knowledge, talent, or capacity he may claim is purely incidental, so that he often has to depend upon others for technical assistance.

In view of these limiting factors, it is not strange that the rulers often have less power and prestige than a literal enumeration of their formal rights would lead one to expect.

*Wealth, Property, and Labor.* Every position that secures for its incumbent a livelihood is, by definition, economically rewarded. For this reason there is an economic aspect to those positions (e.g. political and religious) the main function of which is not economic. It therefore becomes convenient for the society to use unequal economic returns as a principal means of controlling the entrance of persons into positions and stimulating the performance of their duties. The amount of the economic return therefore becomes one of the main indices of social status.

It should be stressed, however, that a position does not bring power and prestige *because* it draws a high income. Rather, it

draws a high income because it is functionally important and the available personnel is for one reason or another scarce. It is therefore superficial and erroneous to regard high income as the cause of a man's power and prestige, just as it is erroneous to think that a man's fever is the cause of his disease.<sup>4</sup>

The economic source of power and prestige is not income primarily, but the ownership of capital goods (including patents, good will, and professional reputation). Such ownership should be distinguished from the possession of consumers' goods, which is an index rather than a cause of social standing. In other words, the ownership of producers' goods is properly speaking, a source of income like other positions, the income itself remaining an index. Even in situations where social values are widely commercialized and earnings are the readiest method of judging social position, income does not confer prestige on a position so much as it induces people to compete for the position. It is true that a man who has a high income as a result of one position may find this money helpful in climbing into another position as well, but this again reflects the effect of his initial, economically advantageous status, which exercises its influence through the medium of money.

In a system of private property in productive enterprise, an income above what an individual spends can give rise to possession of capital wealth. Presumably such possession is a reward for the proper management of one's finances originally and of the productive enterprise later. But as social differentiation becomes highly advanced and yet the institution of inheritance persists, the phenomenon of pure ownership, and reward for pure ownership, emerges. In such a case it is difficult to prove that the position is functionally important or that the scarcity involved is anything other than extrinsic and accidental. It is for this reason, doubtless,

<sup>4</sup>The symbolic rather than intrinsic role of income in social stratification has been succinctly summarized by Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, 45:841-862, May, 1940.

that the institution of private property in productive goods becomes more subject to criticism as social development proceeds toward industrialization. It is only this pure, that is, strictly legal and functionless ownership, however, that is open to attack; for some form of active ownership, whether private or public, is indispensable.

One kind of ownership of production goods consists in rights over the labor of others. The most extremely concentrated and exclusive of such rights are found in slavery, but the essential principle remains in serfdom, peonage, encomienda, and indenture. Naturally this kind of ownership has the greatest significance for stratification, because it necessarily entails an unequal relationship.

But property in capital goods inevitably introduces a compulsive element even into the nominally free contractual relationship. Indeed, in some respects the authority of the contractual employer is greater than that of the feudal landlord, inasmuch as the latter is more limited by traditional reciprocities. Even the classical economics recognized that competitors would fare unequally, but it did not pursue this fact to its necessary conclusion that, however it might be acquired, unequal control of goods and services must give unequal advantage to the parties to a contract.

*Technical Knowledge.* The function of finding means to single goals, without any concern with the choice between goals, is the exclusively technical sphere. The explanation of why positions requiring great technical skill receive fairly high rewards is easy to see, for it is the simplest case of the rewards being so distributed as to draw talent and motivate training. Why they seldom if ever receive the highest rewards is also clear: the importance of technical knowledge from a societal point of view is never so great as the integration of goals, which takes place on the religious, political, and economic levels. Since the technological level is concerned solely with means, a purely technical position must ultimately be subordinate to other positions that are religious, political, or economic in character.

Nevertheless, the distinction between ex-



pert and layman in any social order is fundamental, and cannot be entirely reduced to other terms. Methods of recruitment, as well as of reward, sometimes lead to the erroneous interpretation that technical positions are economically determined. Actually, however, the acquisition of knowledge and skill cannot be accomplished by purchase, although the opportunity to learn may be. The control of the avenues of training may inhere as a sort of property right in certain families or classes, giving them power and prestige in consequence. Such a situation adds an artificial scarcity to the natural scarcity of skills and talents. On the other hand, it is possible for an opposite situation to arise. The rewards of technical position may be so great that a condition of excess supply is created, leading to at least temporary devaluation of the rewards. Thus "unemployment in the learned professions" may result in a debasement of the prestige of those positions. Such adjustments and readjustments are constantly occurring in changing societies; and it is always well to bear in mind that the efficiency of a stratified structure may be affected by the modes of recruitment for positions. The social order itself, however, sets limits to the inflation or deflation of the prestige of experts: an over-supply tends to debase the rewards and discourage recruitment or produce revolution, whereas an under-supply tends to increase the rewards or weaken the society in competition with other societies.

Particular systems of stratification show a wide range with respect to the exact position of technically competent persons. This range is perhaps most evident in the degree of specialization. Extreme division of labor tends to create many specialists without high prestige since the training is short and the required native capacity relatively small. On the other hand it also tends to accentuate the high position of the true experts—scientists, engineers, and administrators—by increasing their authority relative to other functionally important positions. But the idea of a technocratic social order or a government or priesthood of engineers or social scientists neglects the limitations of knowledge and skills as a basic for perform-

ing social functions. To the extent that the social structure is truly specialized the prestige of the technical person must also be circumscribed.

#### VARIATION IN STRATIFIED SYSTEMS

The generalized principles of stratification here suggested form a necessary preliminary to a consideration of types of stratified systems, because it is in terms of these principles that the types must be described. This can be seen by trying to delineate types according to certain modes of variation. For instance, some of the most important modes (together with the polar types in terms of them) seem to be as follows:

(a) *The Degree of Specialization.* The degree of specialization affects the fineness and multiplicity of the gradations in power and prestige. It also influences the extent to which particular functions may be emphasized in the invidious system, since a given function cannot receive much emphasis in the hierarchy until it has achieved structural separation from the other functions. Finally, the amount of specialization influences the bases of selection. Polar types: *Specialized, Unspecialized.*

(b) *The Nature of the Functional Emphasis.* In general when emphasis is put on sacred matters, a rigidity is introduced that tends to limit specialization and hence the development of technology. In addition, a brake is placed on social mobility, and on the development of bureaucracy. When the preoccupation with the sacred is withdrawn, leaving greater scope for purely secular preoccupations, a great development, and rise in status, of economic and technological positions seemingly takes place. Curiously, a concomitant rise in political position is not likely, because it has usually been allied with the religious and stands to gain little by the decline of the latter. It is also possible for a society to emphasize family functions—as in relatively undifferentiated societies where high mortality requires high fertility and kinship forms the main basis of social organization. Main types: *Familistic, Authoritarian (Theocratic or sacred, and Totalitarian or secular), Capitalistic.*

(c) *The Magnitude of Invidious Differences.* What may be called the amount of social distance between positions, taking into account the entire scale, is something that should lend itself to quantitative measurement. Considerable differences apparently exist between different societies in this regard, and also between parts of the same society. Polar types: *Equalitarian*, *Inequalitarian*.

(d) *The Degree of Opportunity.* The familiar question of the amount of mobility is different from the question of the comparative equality or inequality of rewards posed above, because the two criteria may vary independently up to a point. For instance, the tremendous divergences in monetary income in the United States are far greater than those found in primitive societies, yet the equality of opportunity to move from one rung to the other in the social scale may also be greater in the United States than in a hereditary tribal kingdom. Polar types: *Mobile* (open), *Immobile* (closed).

(e) *The Degree of Stratum Solidarity.* Again, the degree of "class solidarity" (or the presence of specific organizations to promote class interests) may vary to some extent independently of the other criteria, and hence is an important principle in classifying systems of stratification. Polar types: *Class organized*, *Class unorganized*.

#### EXTERNAL CONDITIONS

What state any particular system of stratification is in with reference to each of these modes of variation depends on two things: (1) its state with reference to the other ranges of variation, and (2) the conditions outside the system of stratification which nevertheless influence that system. Among the latter are the following:

(a) *The Stage of Cultural Development.*

As the cultural heritage grows, increased specialization becomes necessary, which in turn contributes to the enhancement of mobility, a decline of stratum solidarity, and a change of functional emphasis.

(b) *Situation with Respect to Other Societies.* The presence or absence of open conflict with other societies, of free trade relations or cultural diffusion, all influence the class structure to some extent. A chronic state of warfare tends to place emphasis upon the military functions, especially when the opponents are more or less equal. Free trade, on the other hand, strengthens the hand of the trader at the expense of the warrior and priest. Free movement of ideas generally has an equalitarian effect. Migration and conquest create special circumstances.

(c) *Size of the Society.* A small society limits the degree to which functional specialization can go, the degree of segregation of different strata, and the magnitude of inequality.

#### COMPOSITE TYPES

Much of the literature on stratification has attempted to classify concrete systems into a certain number of types. This task is deceptively simple, however, and should come at the end of an analysis of elements and principles, rather than at the beginning. If the preceding discussion has any validity, it indicates that there are a number of modes of variation between different systems, and that any one system is a composite of the society's status with reference to all these modes of variation. The danger of trying to classify whole societies under such rubrics as *caste*, *feudal*, or *open class* is that one or two criteria are selected and others ignored, the result being an unsatisfactory solution to the problem posed. The present discussion has been offered as a possible approach to the more systematic classification of composite types.

## AN EXPERIMENTAL SOCIOGRAPHIC STUDY OF A STRATIFIED 10TH GRADE CLASS

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A YEAR AGO, we described a projected study of a 10th grade high school class, indicating some initial findings.<sup>1</sup> In June, 1944, this work was concluded and the present paper is an overall report. Though similar studies are now in process, we shall confine discussion to the Crestview project. The viewpoint is that of an educational sociologist, interested in understanding child groups and peer cultures, and the work was done under a number of very practical limitations.

### I

At a state educational conference in September, 1942, the writer spoke on the use of sociographic methods. Among the school people expressing interest were two former graduate students, one a social studies teacher, the other the personnel officer, at the Crestview High School. As the study project shaped up, these persons, along with the principal and the writer, became the planning group, making decisions over the two year period.<sup>2</sup>

The group selected was a 10th grade social studies class. It enrolled at the outset 44 pupils, all but seven of the eligible 15 year olds in the school. The course was a flexible "core type" course, with students accustomed to planning units of study, making class trips and the like. No changes were made except that the teacher was to go with the class into its 11th year.

Objectives for the first year of study were three. We wanted to determine, by socio-

metric test, the friendship structure of the group, comparing first and second semester sociograms for changes and stabilities. We wanted also to stratify these 44 adolescents by use of the Warner technic of social class analysis, and thirdly, to see what light these status data would throw on "best friend" choices. With these base lines known, the second year experimental program could be started. Its general aim was "to improve the learning situation by democratizing pupil attitudes and behaviors." For the first semesters, the approach was to be via individual guidance, for the second group management, with effects in either case to be noted in group and individual sociograms.

As a community, Crestview cannot be exactly typed. Though a kind of residential suburb, it has a thriving socioeconomic life of its own. It is a small midwestern town of about 4,500, not far from a large city. Three fourths of its people are native white of native parentage, with the remainder about equally foreign born and Negro. Since mid-1942, over a third of its wage workers have been employed in city war plants. Close to a hundred family heads own their own business or are in professions. Over half of these are active members of the "old crowd," in distinction to the "new crowd," two thirds of whom have lived in Crestview for five year or more. At least three fifths of all families are said to "own" their own homes, with property values ranging from \$3,500 to over \$25,000. Wealth is concentrated in the "old crowd," with five or six kin groups reported as "running the town." A sense of "old family," while much less evident than in New England or the South, is distinctly present. There are some but not many exclusive cliques and clubs.

As participants in civic affairs, through home visits and other contacts as supple-

<sup>1</sup>"A Sociographic Study of a 10th Grade Class," *Proceedings 9th Annual Guidance Conference*. November, 1943. H. H. Remmers, Ed., *Studies in Higher Education*, No. 48, Purdue University, 1943.

<sup>2</sup>At the principal's request, this group is not named. Members are in effect joint authors of this report, though not responsible for interpretations. Crestview is a fictitious name.



mented by small but pointed school-made surveys, we had hoped to stratify large segments of the adult population, even to construct skeletal sociograms.<sup>3</sup> Both of these tasks proved too much for us, though some work was done. Without concretizing, we were satisfied after three months of observation as to the very probable existence of a three level class system. We judged that three fifths of all families were middle class, about 70 families were identified as upper or near upper class, with the remainder low class. Rough though these estimates were, we believed them to be satisfactory for our purpose.

## II

Since we would need a number of sociograms of the same high school group, it seemed best to make an indirect approach. We drew up a one page blank on "extracurricular activities," giving it with minor changes each semester to various classroom groups. Students were told that their reactions, for example fewer assemblies, more dances, would be passed on to the student council, a promise on which we always made good. Midway on the blank were the two sociometric questions. One asked for the names of best friends in school, "one, two, three or more as you like," and the other for the names of boys and girls "about your own age, whom you don't like so well, don't care to associate with." We thought these questions would be overshadowed by extracurricular concerns which, on repeated check, proved to be the case.

The task of stratifying these youngsters was not solved to our satisfaction. We had Warner's book,<sup>4</sup> in addition to the writer's contacts with this group. We used in all three kinds of data, the first relating to *pupil home backgrounds*. Starting with 30 odd items, we tested and came to use ten: location of home, number of rooms, length

of residence, number of servants, parental educational status, father's occupation, approximate annual income, mother's sociocivic clubs, family magazine subscriptions, and family's social prominence. On the latter item, each home was rated by five or more adults who knew the family well, usually of the same social class level.

Our second set of data defined the *pupil's reputation among his peers*. By use of a two-page form, followed as needed in the school's continuous "guidance checkups," we secured reactions to an array of "guess who," "show me" and social distance items. For instance, "who always thinks about keeping very clean, well dressed and tidy," or the reverse. Or on the "show me" test, after describing an out-of-class incident calling for pupil leadership, we asked for leader names. Our general hypothesis was that each adult social class instills into children its own norms and values, its ways of living. The intent was not to measure these subcultures but to sample child expressions of them, to get pupil ratings on such items as dress, grooming, language usages, moral ideals, and boy-girl conduct. Thus a child named as dirty, or "smart aleck," or "real leader," might or might not be so, yet he must make his adjustment to the group in terms of his reputation.

Since these tests sought only reputational ratings, they would not appear to need validation in the sense of comparison with external criteria. On internal consistency as judged by several of our colleagues and on inter-test comparisons, they came well up to expectations. Their reliability, as inferred from similar studies, was rather high. For instance, Tryon<sup>5</sup> reports test-retest correlations on the "guess who" for 7th grade boys and girls as .76 and .80. Newstetter,<sup>6</sup> studying summer camp groups in successive weeks by the Moreno test, found an average .95. Zeleny,<sup>7</sup> using the same test with college stu-

<sup>3</sup> Similar to George A. Lundberg and Margaret Lawsing, "Sociography of Some Community Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 2, 1937, 318-325.

<sup>4</sup> W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*. Yale University Press, 1941.

<sup>5</sup> Catherine McCann Tryon, in R. G. Barker, et al., *Child Behavior and Development*, p. 548. McGraw-Hill, 1943.

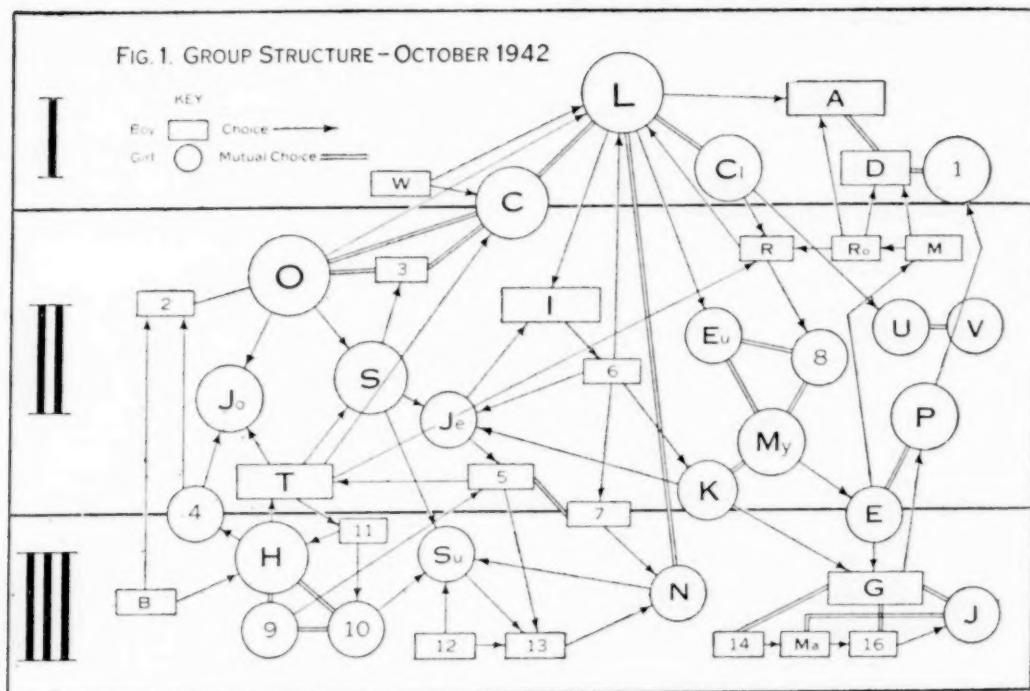
<sup>6</sup> Wilbur L. Newstetter, et al., *Group Adjustment*, p. 36. Western Reserve University, 1938.

<sup>7</sup> Leslie Day Zeleny, "Sociometry of Morale," *American Sociological Review*, 4, 1939, p. 804.

dents, .93 and .95; and Jennings,<sup>8</sup> in a retest of a cottage unit of girls, .96 for positive choices and .93 for negative.

Our third type of data, in some ways the most revealing, came from observations as to *who ran with whom* as an equal and an intimate. We simply kept a record of these associations at school, in school affairs, student hangouts, etc., placing each 10th grader

of work. They hold two points of general interest. The first point, as seen in Figure 1, is the basic structure of this 'teen age group. Here are the usual sociographic patterns—the *isolate*, W, Will, B, Bob, etc. not chosen as a friend by any classmate; the *pair*, U-V, Una and Violet, a mutual choice; the *chain*, R-Ro-M, Ralph *et al.*, a series of one way choices; and the "cluster" with its "star."



in reference to associates of a known high, middle or low prestige rank. Marginal cases were left as marginal, a practice followed throughout the study.

In using these several kinds of data to bracket children in class levels, we did not proceed in any mechanical fashion. In every case, we used our combined best judgment in assigning a prestige rating, thus introducing a subjective element but one that was known, hence under some control.

### III

The two group sociograms, Figures 1 and 2, were the major products of our initial year

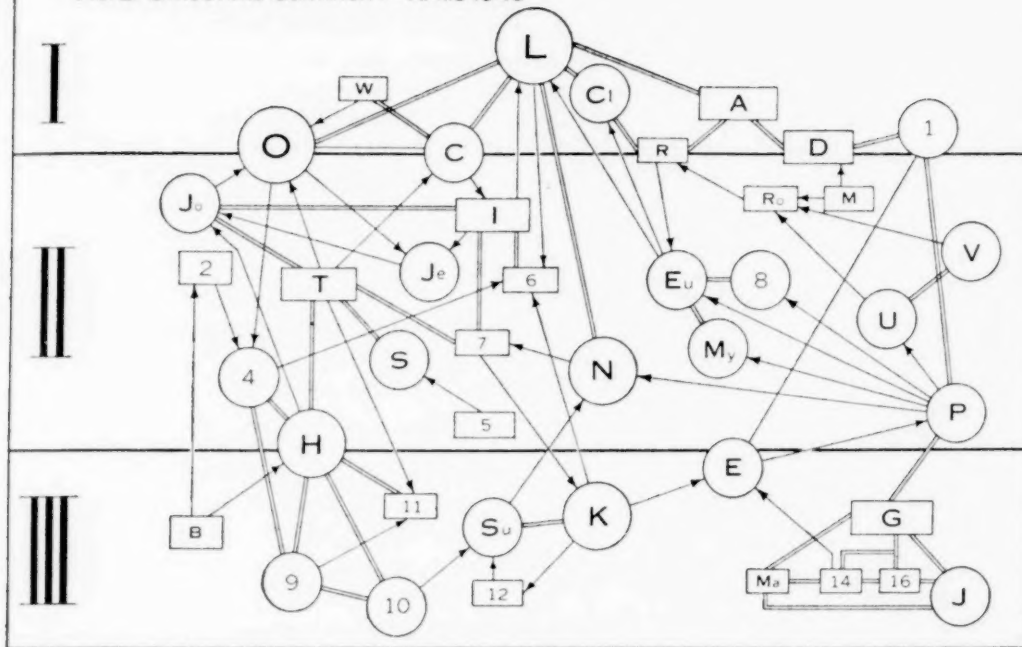
This "cluster" we shall call a *clique* and there are two types. The H or H-T grouping, Howie and Tom, is an open clique, with leader role constant but members shifting and authority shared, whereas the G, George, clique is closed. Leadership is centered and autocratic and members are unchanging. There is also in the sociogram the *all-group leader*, notably L, Lois, although no *factions* as Whyte<sup>9</sup> described them in street corner gangs are evident.

The above interpersonal and subgroupal network is, in general, about what we are coming to expect in 'teen age classrooms in primary communities. Almost three fourths

<sup>8</sup> Helen Hall Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation*, p. 31. Longmans, Green, 1943.

<sup>9</sup> William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, Chap. V. University of Chicago Press, 1943.

FIG. 2. STRUCTURE CONTINUITY - APRIL 1943



of all positive choices, in sum 96, fell within the 10th grade, and all within the school. A majority were within own sex, own status level, with *out choices* being most common in boy-girl attractions, *up choices* most frequent in claims on high ranking "stars" by middle class children. Negative choices, while not depicted in any of our published sociograms, were more or less the reverse of these trends.

Questionnaire data show that upper class children received far more than their fair share of choices on every positive reputational item, for example best dressed, best liked, most fun, and real leader. At the opposite extreme, low class children were seldom mentioned except by other low class children. In negative ratings, these latter pupils were named with great frequency by upper and middle levels as "not liked," "dirty, smelly," "fights a lot" and "dumb." Middle class children cast as a rule more positive votes for top level friends than for their own rank order, viewing both levels as "sharp," "rugged" or "solid," in contrast to bottom level "drips" and "jerks." The phrase most often used by the latter in referring to

most upper level children was "the sissies," the "sissy crowd."

The second point of interest in the sociograms is the relative stability of the classroom structure over six months of time. This is seen by comparing Figures 1 and 2. For example, Lois is still the pert little queen, though Olive is in better position to contest her leadership. Bob, a crippled boy, names the same two friends but is still unnamed by anyone. The George clique, while a bit more unified, is much the same. All in all, *stabilities in contrast to changes are about five times as numerous*. R, Ralph, has moved to, or into, top status ranking, the children whom three out of each five middle class mothers want their own youngsters to have as friends. T, Tom, star athlete and social extrovert, is a fine example of middle class talent mobility. E, Eloise, a quasi-member of the rowdy George clique, has lost status, due chiefly to a newly acquired reputation as a "bad girl."

Enough has been said, perhaps, about these sociograms to show that we are dealing with a structured universe, a network of "attractions and repulsions" that underlies



the official organization of the class. Each child must live in these twin worlds, informal and formal, where behavioral norms are not readily, if at all, transferable. Each has a position to maintain, a role to play, a status to advance, although the question of how this is done is beyond the scope of the paper. In general, the classroom system is a three way product—a creation of the children, an imposition of adult status values, a result of teacher middle-class standards, rewards and punishments. It seeks of course, like every social system, to preserve itself, or concretely to assimilate teacher rule, deflect or defeat it. Though frozen for the moment, it is anything but static. It is an ever shifting equilibrium, a struggle process, a competitive effort to better one's self in peer ratings.

#### IV

It was from thinking of this sort that we set up the second year work. The aim, as was said, was to create a better learning situation, a more democratic atmosphere, by use first of *individual guidance*. Our discussions of democracy, good teaching and the like, can be omitted. By guidance, we came to mean "adjusting the individual to the group," a phrase whose operational content can be sensed by noting its application to cases. It was agreed that we must work, not only on individuals, but through individuals, else guidance could not be distinguished from group management, for the latter also envisioned personality changes. Thus the variables under test were technics, not assumptions, purposes, etc., the one set psychological, the other sociological, keeping the two as separate as possible.

Assuming that no teacher could do much with forty odd students, we began to spot experimental cases. B, Bob, and J, Julie, were to be "integrated into the group." The George clique was to be "broken up." N, Nancy, P, Pat, and J, Jan, were fairly obvious "sex problems." U-V, Una and Violet, a tightly woven "crush relation," were in need of a wider circle of friends. L, Lois, we felt should be "dethroned" and taught a more honest and pervasive concern

for her classmates. O, Olive, was to be guided toward increasing responsibility as a group leader. It was here, about half way through our cases, that unanimity ended. This is, no doubt, a way of saying that our problems changed in character. They were no longer commonsense and behavioral but deeply internal and attitudinal. For example, T, Tom, and K, Katie, were both well-liked middle class children extremely sociable and upwardly mobile. And yet, as we cannot show here, each was a prime personality problem. Tom revealed a "rigid or conscientious" character structure, Katie a "temperamental or scattered" structure,<sup>10</sup> and both were in need of help.

In all, 15 subjects were selected, marked in Figure 3 with a bar. Six were boys, 9 were girls; 3 upper class, 7 middle and 5 lower. Age range was from 15 to 17 years; IQ, 90 to 115, with two cases above normal grade placement and two below. Three were social isolates, one an aggressive clique leader, three were sex problems, one a domineering class leader, three talented potential leaders, two in an unhealthy pair relation, and the remainder subjective personality problems. We did not regard these adolescents then, nor do we now, as anything other than a minerun sample of almost any high school class.

Our aim was not to force changes on any child. We did not, however, try to set up an honestly "permissive environment,"<sup>11</sup> if such is ever possible, or to engage in "nondirective therapy." Our task was to guide these children—to give direction, meaning and support to the changes *they* *willed* to make. Our technic was almost wholly the private conference, a guided interchange of ideas; adaptive, emotionalized and suggestive but not, we believe, too insistently so. From five to ten sessions were held with each child, each lasting from 15 to 30 minutes or over. No child was told that he had been singled out for study, and we had a perfect cover in

<sup>10</sup> For illustrative problem college students, see Ruth L. Munroe, *Teaching the Individual*, Chaps. VIII, IX, X. Columbia University Press, 1942.

<sup>11</sup> For this theory, Frederick H. Allen, *Psychotherapy with Children*, III, *The Therapeutic Process*. Norton, 1943.

the recurring "guidance checkups" for all students.

It was with George, the clique leader, that we scored our great failure, and a fragment of an interview will suggest our general procedure. Rough and tough and happy in his role, George remained negative to the last, until in fact the Army took him over.

Guidance Conference: A Segment

- G. Here comes George, bad old George. I'll flop here. (Pulls a chair to the window, sits with his back to the teacher.)
- T. Hello, George, You know I like to talk with you. Do you like to come here?
- G. Ok, Ok, I guess. No need to. Not a need. . . .
- T. Well, I've been thinking about this. What are you going to do when you finish school?
- G. (No reply. Picks up a magazine and thumbs pages.)
- T. Tom says he's going to war. He is going to be . . .
- G. (Interrupting.) I don't care what . . . I got my eye on something. A bomber pilot. . . .
- T. Then you'd have a crew, wouldn't you. I read a story about that. The pilot and crew were a team.
- G. (Finds picture of Fortress. Studies it.)
- T. It was in England. . . . The crew liked that pilot. He got along with everybody. . . . They would do anything for him. Once, over Bremen . . . That took courage, didn't it, courage and teamwork?
- G. Yeh. He had what it takes. He ran his gang. He told 'em what. Nobody argued back.
- T. There was a big dance one night at the base. Lots of girls were there. . . . Everybody liked the pilot. He was friendly and got along with everybody.
- G. I can take care of myself. I run my gang. Let the rest of them (the class) go hang.
- T. I didn't tell you all about that pilot. He had a problem, a tough one. . . . He wasn't afraid to talk things over. It takes courage to do that.
- G. Who's afraid? I ain't afraid. I'm stubborn, that's what. I'm stubborn.
- T. That pilot was stubborn when the flak hit. Remember? That wasn't bad, was it?
- G. Naw, hold on. Hold on and fight, fight, fight.

T. Should one change his course sometimes, like the pilot did? You know, be a little different, a better leader?

G. The sissies (referring to his own classmates.)

T. Tom likes you. Others like you. I would make a bet that . . .

G. (Rises; kicks at chair. With an "I'll be seein' ya," he starts toward the door.)

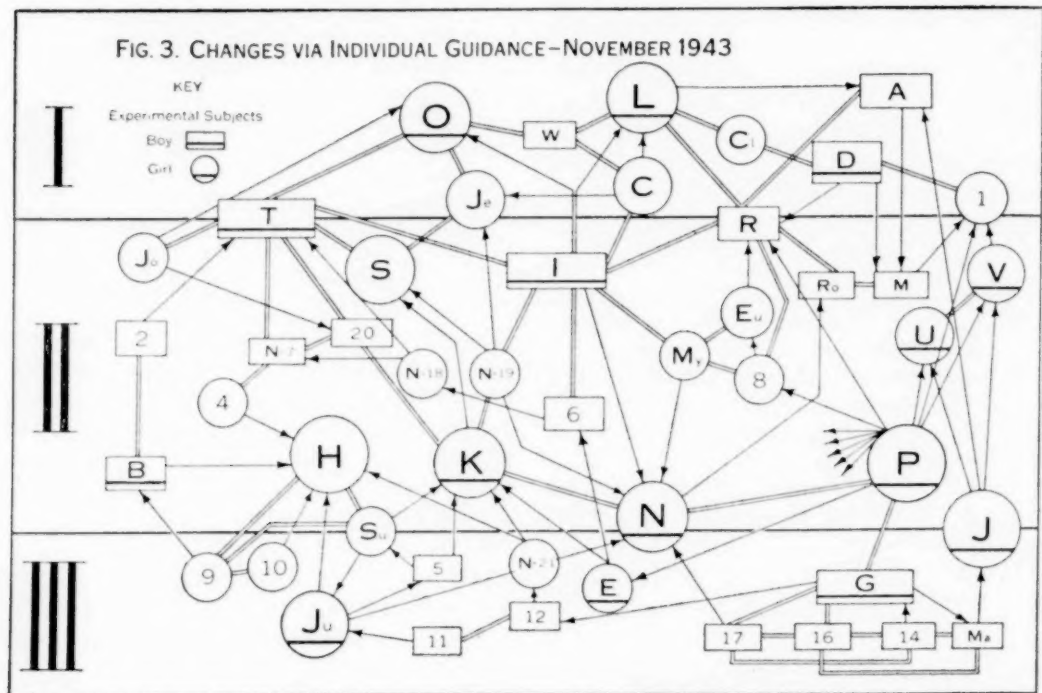
This is a segment of the sixth interview, each a little more direct. It can be argued that we did not know how to deal with George, which is quite correct. In all fairness, George was no easy boy to affect. Out of one scrape into another, his clique broke into an unoccupied house just after this conference. They drew crude sex symbols on the walls, carried away removable fixtures, and built a fire on an upstairs hardwood floor. They made a pallet out of old blankets and, with Jan, engaged in sex intimacies. A name on a piece of paper gave the thing away. George's father, as did other dads, professed complete surprise. His most revealing remark was: "I didn't know the kid was doin' nothin'. I'm gonna lick h--l outa him twice a week, reg'lar."

We failed with George but how and why are still conjectural. In our opinion, we worked on a false premise. The boy was a star in every sport, a school hero of first rank importance. Having great prestige in the school at large, he could be indifferent to, or aggressive toward, classmates and teacher. Neither class nor teacher had anything to offer him that he wanted, no way to motivate status strivings, to shake his supreme self confidence, hence the learning (or integrative) process could not get started. Our mistake was not to recognize his solid anchorage in the school and to work from this angle.

V

What can be said, in general, about our success or failure in using individual guidance? It will be evident, in comparing Figures 3 and 2,<sup>12</sup> that Lois is less popular,

<sup>12</sup> The September, 1943, sociogram has not been reproduced. It shows the basic stability of group structure over the summer vacation period.



less in position to swing the class as she likes. Olive has advanced in best friend choices into a place of all-class leadership, an effect we worked for. Bob, the isolate, has made one mutual friend and been named by one classmate. Julie and Dan, also isolates, have done less well, yet some outreaching is apparent. Tom and Ikie have won acceptance from higher ranking peers, with the Jewish boy the major link between the nascent Olive and Lois factions. Lois has dropped Nancy, a newcomer to the community and a distant relative, to check her own imminent downward movement, and Nancy has begun to make middle class friends. Elizabeth has broken with the George clique and Katie also seems to be leaving bottom level associates.

Of equal interest are the changes we did not make, the attractions and repulsions too strong for us. The George clique is better integrated than before, with one new member. While Jan is on the way out, Pat or Nancy is likely to take her place. Pat, in particular, is in an insecure position. Her individual sociogram, for instance, shows that she names 13 classmates as best friends and rejects 5, whereas no one, except George

and Nancy, names or rejects her. Such a gap between self conceptions and group acceptance, is not uncommon,<sup>13</sup> but in this case it is, at least in part, an effect of guidance, an overstress on friend making. Una and Violet remain inseparable, with only the latter showing any effect of our efforts.

Changes of another type should be mentioned, alterations not intended and over which we had no control. For example, Josephine, a confidant of Olive, has moved inside a four-way upper status grouping, a cluster of leaders united against, more or less, the Lois faction. In this faction, Ralph has assumed a key position, a mediator role between lesser units on both sides, a part as our case materials show that he plays to perfection. Arthur, the young *H. M. Pulham, Esq.* of Crestview's youthful elite society, cannot quite make up his mind to become a real fellow, to make and keep friends below his station in life. The fact that he is named by Jan, the *Kitty Foyle* of the group, is more than we can explain.

<sup>13</sup> For example, Helen Hall Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation*, pp. 166-69. Longmans, Green, 1943.



## VI

We shall turn now to what is, perhaps, the most interesting part of the experiment, the *group management approach*. While an eye was kept on changes in process, our target was in truth the whole group. The aim was to teach what someone called "the spirit of willing cooperation," an ideal running counter to dominant core values in our culture, hence not easy of achievement.<sup>14</sup>

Assuming that these attitudes and skills could not be taught, or well taught, by teacher talk, or by sitting and listening, we planned to start "activity projects" in which all pupils would want to participate. A large measure of power, the power of decision, was to be lodged within the group, and the group guided in using this power in the interest of all class members. We believed, with Slavson,<sup>15</sup> that a child group could learn how to control its members, yet we could not go all the way with him in creating a "permissive environment." Our concept of teacher role was patterned closely on Lippitt's "democratic group leader,"<sup>16</sup> though it varied somewhat with the situation. End results were to be pictured in sociograms and, as usual, explanatory data collected via questionnaire, case studies and group observation.

During this last semester, we made use of three types of projects. The first consisted of *fun parties*, of which there were seven, such as after-game hayrides and stunt nights. Each was organized by the class with only incidental help from the teacher. The second type of project comprised war service activities, of which there were three, and the third two rather stumbling attempts at "role practice."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See author's summary of research in "Educating for Group Unity and Action," *Review Educational Research*, 13, 1940, 48-59.

<sup>15</sup> S. R. Slavson, *An Introduction to Group Therapy*, V, *Function of the Adult*. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1943.

<sup>16</sup> Ronald Lippitt, "An Experimental Study of the Effects of Democratic and Autocratic Group Atmospheres," *Studies in Topological and Vector Psychology I, Studies in Child Welfare*, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 43-105. University of Iowa, 1940.

<sup>17</sup> For example, Alvin Zander and Ronald Lip-

*War service projects* can be illustrated by a two weeks "scrap hunt." The teacher had "wondered" at two class meetings if the group "could help more" in current war activities. The idea of collecting scrap—paper, tinfoil, razor blades, rubber, etc., arose at the next class meeting. It was proposed by Howie and supported at once by Olive and Tom. Seeing that it stood to win a following, the writer began to make rough notes. While a flow chart of this sort fills several pages, excerpts from it will help to define the group process.

## A Scrap Drive: Segments of Group Process

*Defining the Situation* (2nd session)

Lois: Each one bring stuff. (Superior air; unenthused.)

Howie: No, not that way. Bring lots and lots of stuff to help win the war. Everybody.

Lois: You can, all you want. Bring what you want.

Teacher: Is the idea to make a real drive, an all-out drive?

Class: Yes, yes. (Nods; no opposition.)

Olive: Oh, I would like that. It would be fun. Can we?

Howie: Sure, like I said. Let's get going.

Tom: What we need is organization, like on a team.

Pat: Go every place and ask everybody in town. . . .

Tom: But first we need organization. Got to have that. . . .

Lois: Who will be president to run it?

Nancy: Ask Miss E--- (teacher). Who, Miss E---?

Teacher: Well, in our country we vote our choices. We elect our leaders.

Sue: Yes, we elect. I nominate Tom.

Ralph: I nominate Lois.

Tom: I nominate Olive.

(Others named. First ballot: Tom 12; Lois 14; Olive 10. Second ballot: Tom 22; Lois 14.)

*Organizing the Group* (3rd session)

Tom: Let's get going. I guess we need some committees.

(Goes to blackboard.) What gangs do we want?

Dan: Committee on junk.

pitt, "Reality Practice as Educational Method," *Sociometry*, 7, 1944, 129-151.

Tom: Let's break that up. One on waste paper, that's one. (Four areas are defined. Lois, then Olive, chooses a committee and these fill up.)

Tom: Wait a minute. There's two other committees. . . .

Pat: I could take the one on tinfoil and stuff.

Tom: You be on it. Let each team elect its captain.

Teacher: Will we need a group on transportation and one on publicity?

Tom: Sure. Katie you be on publicity? Who'll see about trucking the stuff? You, George?

George: Thanks, pal. That's work.

Ikie: Dad's got two trucks. Guess he'd loan 'em to us.

Tom: OK. (Writes Ikie's name down.) Now what else?

#### *Maintaining Morale (6th session)*

Tom: Now we'll have committee reports. Ikie.

Ikie: All set for Saturday. Got two trucks and need four more loaders.

Tom: Who can go along? (Two volunteers.) Dan? Howie?

Dan: No can do. Sorry.

Tom: Well, we can't flop now. Got the stuff and we gotta get it in. Dad said it's the best thing the school has ever done for the town. . . .

Howie: I'll go if you'll go, Tom.

Teacher: Tom works Saturdays (at a store.) Is there anybody who will go with Howie?

Sue: Will said he'd go.

Will: Sure. You come on to, Sue?

Sue: I'll go.

Tom: Good work, gang, good work. Now for another committee.

Julie: People don't know about fats. . . . Mom didn't.

Pat: Our committee seen everybody, most everybody. (Committee on fats.)

Julie: Not mom, I know.

Teacher: Do you have a list of places where you've been?

Pat: No, we didn't make any. We tried to do a good job.

Tom: Ok, Pat, you've done ok. Let's check where your gang has been. . . .

#### *Evaluating results (9th session)*

Tom: Quiet down, quiet down. This is our last meeting unless you want to go on. Lots of scrap to get in.

Sue: I'm for going on. . . .

Lois: Let's do something exciting. Have some fun.

Nancy: Ask teacher what. What, Miss E---?

Teacher: I've been amazed at the work you've all done.

Tom: Work and sweat, like the guy said.

Teacher: Has it all been worth doing? I wonder if it has.

Katie: Look at the stuff we've got. (At Tom's prompting, reads amounts collected.)

Olive: Fine, Katie, fine. It looks good to me.

Nancy: I like this better'n studying. You learn more.

Teacher: More of what, would you say?

Bob: Getting stuff in. Doing your part. Being ok.

Tom: Like a team, I'd say. We put it over. The town can count on us.

Teacher: Yes, it was a big job and all of you put it over. Every teammate did his part.

George: Old razzle dazzle. I don't go for that.

Dan: Dad said it's ok. We oughta go on and finish up.

Howie: I move we go on. (A chorus of seconds.)

George: Ok, suckers. Include me out.

Such work stands in sharp contrast to formalistic, or parliamentary, efforts at teaching group action as observed in many classrooms, and on the other hand, to the several kinds of make-believe play games so lacking in reality. While member roles invite detailed comment, we shall simply state the general theory. Our aim was to teach the class how to manage the group process, *to work together as a self directing team with a job to do*. The teacher's role was, in the main, to lead the leaders, to see them face choices and make "mistakes," at least to the point where the total project was endangered.<sup>18</sup> And then, in terms of our theory, intervention was necessary. Education was to be guided so that more education could go on. Thus a group of this sort is not unlike democracy itself—always falling apart and always, we hope, being saved in the nick of time.

Our third approach to group management

<sup>18</sup>For application to the adult community (cases and theory) see the author's *Community Action and the School*. Ohio State University Press, 1941, pp. 14.

was via *role practice*. Hendry's<sup>19</sup> work is fully descriptive of our less mature efforts. We started with a persistent gripe, the ever present "youth problem." Why does Crestview have youth problems? Why doesn't somebody do something? After a little warming up, student ideas came as fast as they could be written down. These wants, wishes, tensions, etc., formed the basis for a series of character parts, or roles, each with a central emphasis. Students built them up out of their own experiences and a listing will suggest something of their essential nature.

Some Character Parts: The Youth Problem

Father, no interest	Father Crestview, go slow
Mother, chronic worry	Aver. boy, "nothing to do"
Minister, bad morals	Aver. girl, "nowhere to go"
Business man, costs	Youth leader, modern ideas, a youth program
Farmer, work, work	
Police, "whatya up to"	
Sch. supt., discipline	

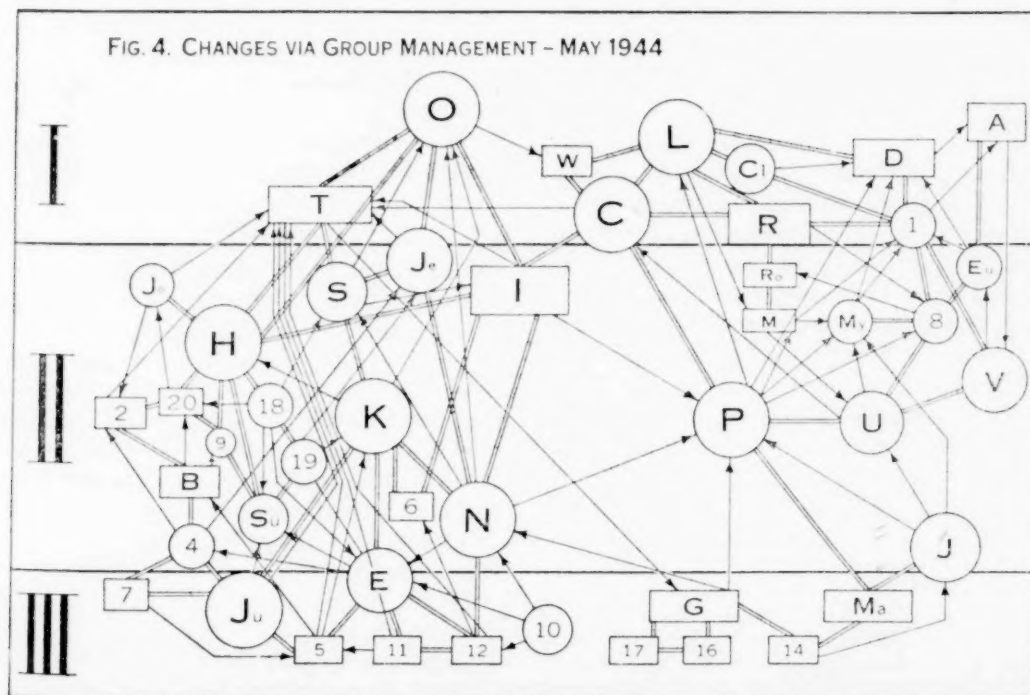
<sup>19</sup> Charles E. Hendry, "Role Practice Brings the Community into the Classroom," *Sociometry*. 7, 1944, 196-204.

We cannot overstress the realism with which these roles were enacted in two experimental sessions. There was no rehearsal, no coaching, the flow of conversation being impromptu. In these discussions, the teacher took no part until, at last, she stopped the session for a role analysis. In this appraisal the class, forewarned, joined with the participants in judging character parts as to representatives, consistency and the like, with the teacher guiding their analyses and projections. What might have been done over time with this approach, we were never to know at Crestview, due to our own bad judgment. Impressed with our second session, the principal invited the group to "put on the show" in assembly. The thing fell flat. Students either made long-winded speeches or else sat speechless, and all of us lost interest in the psychodrama. We have since profited by this mistake.

### VII

The combined effect of these three approaches to group integration is seen in Figure 4. This sociogram is very different from any other. It differs, first of all, in that the class is now definitely *factionalized*. We

FIG. 4. CHANGES VIA GROUP MANAGEMENT - MAY 1944





had not intended this effect, in fact foresaw it and tried to guard against it. While interpretations of its meaning will differ, we do not believe that this structure is undemocratic. It is, for instance, quite like American communities, with special interests, large and small pressure groupings. Its opposite would be, in one form, an unorganized, amorphous mass, quite incapable of concerted action.

Another striking feature of the sociogram is the *increased volume of social interaction*. This can be seen best by reference to Table I. From October 1942 to May 1944, the

sampling period over the two years, upper class children were "over chosen," whereas lower class boys and girls were "under chosen." Put otherwise, *the trend in friend making is upward*, not outward or downward. This phenomenon, with all that it implies, is a basic feature of the adult class system, thus the school group parallels the environing social order.

Figure 4 shows various *positional changes* which we shall not take the time to analyze out. The George clique, for example, is disintegrating. After resisting a host of pres-

TABLE I. AVERAGE NUMBER OF TIMES BY SOCIAL CLASS LEVEL THAT CRESTVIEW 10TH GRADE STUDENTS CHOOSE AND ARE CHOSEN AS BEST FRIENDS OVER A TWO YEAR PERIOD.

Social Class	October 1942		April 1943		November 1943		May 1944		Average	
	Chooses	Chosen	Chooses	Chosen	Chooses	Chosen	Chooses	Chosen	Chooses	Chosen
Upper	2.57	3.43	2.55	3.77	3.45	4.27	3.81	4.81	3.18	4.13
Middle	2.21	2.08	2.80	3.05	4.00	4.30	5.10	5.04	3.54	3.60
Lower	2.64	2.42	3.23	2.00	3.28	2.21	3.91	3.25	3.24	2.45
Average	2.40	2.40	2.80	2.80	3.64	3.64	4.51	4.51	—	—

average number of best friend choices increased from 2.40 to 2.80, 3.64 and 4.51.<sup>20</sup> Thus the trend toward greater contact is clear, and the last two averages in particular are significant. Even more revealing are comparative totals for the two school years. For the first year, 1942-43, when no experimentation was attempted, friendship choices averaged 2.64; for the second year, 4.80. That this increase was due pretty largely to individual guidance and group management is, we believe, a reasonable conclusion. It could hardly be due to a carryover from the first year, for these same youngsters have lived and played and gone to school together most of their life.

Table I is of interest for still other reasons. While these high school juniors did not vary greatly, or uniformly, by social class level in the number of choices made, the same cannot be said for direction of choice. At every

measures for the two years, it is splitting up from within. While it may be incorrect to claim credit for this effect, an activity program such as the one described, does churn up a group. It sets going new currents and cross-currents of influence, enforcing new adjustments. And yet, to repeat an earlier inference, the impressive thing is not the changes in but the stability of group structure.

### VIII

With schools moving steadily toward social learning, a study of this sort has practical values. Dare one claim to have taught co-operation, to have democratized a classroom, without pre- and end-test measures? Sociograms, with or without status level research, provide a simple indicator of changes, a base line from which to plan individual and group guidance. Moreover, they will bring our all too often chaotic "activity programs" under some kind of control, an imperative if we are to get anywhere in any sort of directive teaching.

Aside from its practical nature, the Crest-

<sup>20</sup> Again, for lack of space, the September, 1943, average, 2.24, has been omitted. In all respects, and as to be expected, September data approximate those for October, 1942.

view study has implications for the growing field of child socialization. Admitting the need for better methods, we believe none the less that *our data support the hypothesis of class level stratification among 'teen age children*. So far this idea, when advanced at all, has rested on fragmental case studies which have been made, in turn, the basis for rather sweeping generalizations. Quantifica-

tion, along with clearer conceptual definition, are on the way and greatly needed. In comparison with what is known about individual personality variants, we know little about the simplest subgroupal structures, for example pairs, chains, cliques and factions. This is, we believe, a fertile field for the educational sociologist.

## PREDICTION OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR IN AMERICA\*

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WHEN people think of predicting elections they usually have in mind the popular public opinion polls where inferences are made from the vote intention of a cross-section of the population to the actual returns of the total population on election day. But, in social research, the term prediction is used in still another way. We predict marriage success or parole success by studying the correlations between all sorts of data and the main criterion of interest. Actually the correlates of voting behavior were studied long before public opinion polls existed, and an impressive and as yet largely unfulfilled program for such work has been laid out in Stuart Rice's classic *Quantitative Methods in Politics*.<sup>1</sup>

A survey of the present status of the study of political behavior has thus to be divided into at least two sections: one, where the vote intention enters as a major datum, and the other where it does not. A third section of this paper will deal with sampling problems.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. THE RELATION BETWEEN VOTE INTENTION AND ACTUAL VOTE

How closely can we predict actual vote on the basis of vote intention, as revealed by

the respondents in an opinion poll? Actually, whatever differences appear between actual vote and vote intention can be attributed to one or more of three factors:

1. The respondents can change their minds, i.e., someone who at first intends to vote Democratic may later decide to vote Republican and then actually vote that way;
2. People can express a vote intention but later fail to vote for one reason or another, and
3. People who do not have a settled vote intention can make up their minds and vote; this problem is itself of two parts: *How many* of such people will actually vote and *for which party?*

In recent presidential elections, the results of the Gallup and Roper and Crossley polls have shown very considerable success in predicting actual vote from vote intention. Such polls, however, cannot deal with these three basic problems involved in such prediction. They can be studied only with a panel which is interviewed at least once before the election (vote intention) and again after the election (actual vote).

The first study of this kind was made dur-

and others will be relegated to brief mention in a short appendix. Emphasis in the text was laid upon materials and procedures not published before. The authors are indebted to Misses Blaine, Hurdman and Kendall and Messrs. Berelson and Norman for their help in the collection of material. The organization of Elmo Roper was helpful in providing special tabulations. The work of George Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion was available through the use of papers edited by Hadley Cantril in *Gauging Public Opinion*. Princeton, 1944.

\* This article may be identified as publication A-49 of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University.

<sup>1</sup> New York, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> Because of lack of space not all parts of the review prepared for this occasion could be included in this paper. Some parts will only be mentioned

ing the 1940 election with a sample of the population of Erie County, Ohio (referred to hereafter as the Erie County study.<sup>3</sup>) During the 1944 election it was repeated by the National Opinion Research Center of Denver University (the NORC study) for a national cross-section of 1,931 respondents. Since both these studies yield essentially the same results, they are discussed together here. The NORC distribution (Table I) exemplifies the major findings of such a cross-tabulation.

are the largest group among the changes—are of two kinds. First, there are those who intend to vote but do not yet know for whom. Most of them do vote on Election Day, and they tend to split their vote between the parties more or less in line with those who had already decided on a vote intention. Secondly, there are the larger number who did not intend to vote. Overwhelmingly, they actually do not vote on Election Day. Fully 92 percent of those who said they

TABLE I. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VOTE INTENTION IN LATE OCTOBER AND ACTUAL VOTE, FOR THE NORC NATIONAL SAMPLE\*

Actual Vote	Vote Intention in October				
	Republican	Democratic	Undecided	Don't Expect To Vote	TOTAL
Republican	712	13	20	3	748
Democratic	24	768	22	17	831
Didn't Vote	32	76	14	230	352
Total Persons	768	857	56	250	1931

\* The first interview was made at the end of October and the second just after Election Day. About 75 per cent of the original sample was re-interviewed. We wish to thank Mr. Harry Field, the Director of the NORC, for his courtesy in making this table available for the purposes of this paper.

*Twixt the Cup and the Lip.* What happens to vote intentions during the last stretch of a presidential campaign is illustrated in Table I. The results can be summarized in terms of the three basic problems. (1) There is little shifting from one party to the other. (2) People with a Democratic vote intention are less likely to vote than the people with a Republican vote intention. Further analysis shows that this simply reflects the different composition of the two parties; Democratic supporters are drawn more from the lower socio-economic and educational levels, and participate less in political affairs for that reason. On the same socio-economic and educational levels Democrats vote as frequently as Republicans. (3) The people without a definite vote intention in October—and they

did not expect to vote actually did not. (The corresponding figure in the Erie County study was 91 percent). Inversely, the non-voters are largely the people who never intended to vote. The small number who do vote are apt to be motivated to vote by personal pressure. This last can ordinarily be traced to the effectiveness of the party machines in any locality, and in 1944 the Political Action Committee was presumably very effective in getting out the vote from just these sectors of the population. (In the Erie County study, these people voted Republican, but at that time the community as a whole was Republican and the Republican political machine in the county was much stronger than the Democratic.)

Thus it can be seen at a glance that all these changes tend to cancel out one another. The Democrats lose more through non-voting, but they gain more from the people who are undecided or who did not intend to vote, as well as from those who had earlier intended to vote Republican. With such re-

<sup>3</sup> Some results of this study are reported in Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The Election Is Over," Fall issue, 1944, *Public Opinion Quarterly*. The cross-tabulation of vote intention in October and actual vote is not repeated here, since it is available in this article.



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peated interviewing, it becomes possible to show precisely the gross and net changes which occur during the last week or ten days of a campaign. In this national cross-section, for example, there was a gross change of 11 percent in opinions from late October to Election Day. However, the net change, *i.e.*, the percentage distribution of the two-party

northern industrial cities, who were studied in 1944 for another purpose. Again we present only the data from the larger sample but the results which we discuss are confirmed by the Erie County sample.

In some ways the changes over the longer time period parallel those from late October to Election Day (Table II). First we see that

TABLE II. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VOTE INTENTION AFTER THE PARTY CONVENTIONS AND ACTUAL VOTE, FOR A SAMPLE OF URBAN WOMEN

Actual Vote	Vote Intention after the Conventions				
	Republican	Democratic	Undecided	Don't Expect to Vote	TOTAL
Republican	215	47	140	23	425
Democratic	55	428	277	52	812
Didn't Vote	25	81	97	147	350
Total Persons	295	556	514	222	1587

vote changed hardly at all. In late October 47.3 percent of those who had made up their minds intended to vote Republican, as against 47.5 percent of those who actually did vote. In other words, a gross change of over 10 percent resulted in a net change of less than 1 percent.<sup>4</sup>

*From Convention to Election.* Thus it appears that the vote intention in late October serves as a good indicator of actual vote. Although there is a reasonable amount of change of mind, the changes tend to balance one another and the actual distribution of vote does not vary much from the vote intentions. But this is more or less what one would expect, since by the last days of a presidential campaign the attitudes of the people are pretty well solidified. Let us now examine the problems of presidential vote over a longer time span. Studies have shown that vote intention is substantially crystallized after both party conventions. Additional data for this period are available both from the Erie County study and from a cross-section of about 1600 women in four

the shifts from one party to the other are small and tend to counter one another. Again, we see that women with a Democratic vote intention were less likely to vote on Election Day than Republican women. In two ways, however, there are important differences:

1. There are more people without a vote intention in August than in October, by which time the full activity of the campaign has "pushed" people into one or the other camp.<sup>5</sup>
2. More of the Don't-Expect-to-Votes in August actually go to the polls than the Don't-Expect-to-Votes in October. There is actually a trend from the pre-convention period in this regard. For example in the Erie county study 32 percent of the DEV's in May actually voted, only 23 percent of the August DEV's, and only 9 percent of the October ones.

It is clear from Table II that the vote decisions of the women without opinions in August followed closely the vote decisions of the women who had already made up their minds at that time. Even here then, we find

<sup>4</sup> The corresponding figures for the Erie County study in 1940 are these: a gross change of 12.2 percent and a net change of 1.4 percent.

<sup>5</sup> No direct comparison between Tables I and II is completely reliable here because of the fact that Table II contains only women, who participate less in politics anyway. However, the point is confirmed by the Erie County study where the figures represent the same group of respondents.

a close parallel to the results over the shorter time span. From August until Election Day there was a gross change of fully 46 percent which resulted in a net change in vote distribution of only 0.3 per cent.

In brief, then, the vote intention of a group serves as a good indicator of its actual vote because of the balancing effect of two factors. Relatively more of the late deciders (after August) decide in favor of the Democrats but this is offset by the fact that fewer Democrats actually vote. The fact that Democrats decide later in the campaign can be explained again in terms of their lower socio-economic and educational status, which tends to result in less interest in the election. This raises the question of the general factors which influence the time of decision.

The only study of this problem showed that the time of final decision was correlated with two major indices—interest in the election, and “cross-pressures.”<sup>6</sup> The less interested people were, the later they made up their minds on how to vote. The notion of “cross-pressures” applies to the people who were subject to opposing political pressures by virtue of their membership in certain social groups, e.g., wealthy Catholics. In this way a number of “cross-pressure” indices were developed and no matter whether they were used singly or in combination, it was found that the people with cross-pressures came to their final vote decision later than the people without cross-pressure.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *The People's Choice*, by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet. New York: 1944. See Chapter VI, “The Time of Final Decision,” and Chapter XV, “Political Homogeneity of Social Groups.”

<sup>7</sup> Louis Bean suggested that a correction for general turnout be made (*New Republic*, May 1, 1944). He tried to show that the less people vote in an election the higher is the proportion of Republican voters. It was shown above that people with Democratic vote intention are somewhat less likely to go to the polls. But it is dubious whether this differential increases, the lower the general interest in the specific election. Bean has too few examples to make his conclusion convincing. We took all the counties in Pennsylvania and compared their returns for the presidential elections of 1936 with 1940 on the proportion of Democratic vote and

## II. THE CORRELATES OF VOTING BEHAVIOR

### *Some Results from Public Opinion Polls.*

Public opinion polls are usually not undertaken with the purpose of finding out what characteristics are related to different vote intentions. But as a routine, each respondent is usually asked a few questions about himself and from such data a few generalizations can be made. All the major polling organizations have reported tables for the last few elections which indicate a correlation of about 0.4 between socio-economic status and vote, and one of about 0.15 between age and vote.

It seems that at least since the First World War low-income groups have shown a tendency to vote for the Democratic Party. Further studies are needed, however, to interpret this relationship more adequately. This will require an analysis of the zero-order and partial relationship of specific indices such as income, standards of living or occupation to voting.<sup>8</sup> It will be especially important to analyze these data in the light of theoretical concepts of social stratification.

The greater interest of younger people in the Democratic party might be related to the nature of the New Deal program, to the traditional tie-up between the Republicans and the prohibition movement, and to the age-selective nature of migration to big cities. Analysis of the relationship between age and its correlates and voting behavior will also have to be left to future studies. By combining the study of age with a variety of stratification indices, it will be possible to clarify the role of formal education in political attitude and behavior. Present data are contradictory.

Undoubtedly religious affiliation plays a very great role in vote formation at this moment. In the Erie County Study, it was

number of voters per thousand of adult population. The shifts in vote and the shifts in turnout showed a correlation of  $-.06$ . At least for Pennsylvania, then, there seems to be no relationship between turnout and composition of vote.

<sup>8</sup> A summary of now available data had to be omitted because of lack of space. Some indication will be found in *The People's Choice*, Chapter 4.

found that Catholics supported the Democratic candidates more strongly than did Protestants, no matter what other combination of characteristics was kept constant. (The difference between Protestant and Catholic vote persists if only respondents of German descent are compared.) The same result is shown for the sample of women studied in the 1944 election, mentioned above. Unfortunately, few of the public opinion polls ask for the religion of the respondent, so that little material is available. But from all indications, the single characteristic of religion has the highest zero-order correlation with vote. Here again there is need for careful interpretation.<sup>9</sup> There is also some evidence that the Jewish vote in big Eastern cities is very likely to go to the Democratic party.

There seems to exist an interesting reversal of the role of age among Catholics. In both the 1940 Erie County study and the sample of women in 1944 it was found that the young voters of the Catholic group were more Republican in their sympathies than the older. We can speculate that this is due to the role of such movements as the Christian Front, which probably attracts more young people, or to a tendency of the younger generation—particularly the children of recent immigrants—to act in opposition to their parents. Or it might be the result of some factor still to be thought of.

Farmers, at this moment, show a tendency to vote for the Republican party. But this result has to be studied region by region. Nation-wide figures show only an insignificant correlation between vote and size of residence. This is due to the fact that regional differences are correlated in a rather confusing way with rural-urban character on the one hand, and with political traditions on the other hand. In addition, it seems that the farm vote is especially variable and subject to political mood.

Women seem to have slight preference for the Republican party, even after one has taken into account the fact that the participa-

tion of women is greater in higher economic strata. It is hard to say whether this sex difference is disappearing, because the absence of so many young males made the age distribution of civilian voters in the two sex groups so different in the 1944 election.

More refined study of the political behavior of specific groups through public opinion data is not likely for some time to come. The design of the samples is not adapted to the study of such carefully defined sub-groups. As a result, quantitative methods in politics must often rely on the analysis of election returns, as they are available for counties or districts. The dependent variable of this type of study is based on the proportion of Republican or Democratic votes (with few exceptions, we shall consider only the two major parties in this paper). Similarly, the indices for our independent variables are found in census material and other public records, e.g., the proportion of people beyond a certain age or education level, or the proportion of people with cars, born abroad, and so on.

Ecological or individual indices show a number of relationships, a discussion of which had to be omitted for lack of space.

*A Rationale for the Ecological Study of Election Returns.* There has been increasing agreement that correlation analysis leads to useful generalizations only when these generalizations are made in terms of a logical study of the variables used and a consideration of their material relationship.<sup>10</sup> The failure of such correlation studies to develop systematic frames of references has led to disappointment in the value of the technique.

Whatever the past shortcomings, correlation analysis of ecological data can contribute to the study of a number of important issues, and, therefore, the present neglect of this approach is regrettable. In lieu of a review of some of the characteristic findings, we shall suggest a frame of reference which should be helpful in the evaluation of past, and the design of future, studies of this type.

<sup>9</sup> Some suggestions can be seen in *The People's Choice*, Chapter 4

<sup>10</sup> A. H. Mowbray, "Observation of Correlation Analysis," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*. Vol. 36, p. 248.



When we attempt to classify the types of problems with which ecological studies deal, two distinctions become necessary. The first is whether the *dependent variable* upon which attention is focused refers to the returns of a single election or to the shifts in vote between two elections.

Somewhat more tenuous, but still indispensable, is the classification of the characteristics of the voters or the areas in which they live. These *independent variables* may be divided into three groups: Long-term, Medium-term, and Short-term variables.<sup>11</sup> It is reasonable to assume, for instance, that some characteristics were acquired long before an individual political opinion was developed, and that they remain fairly constant in comparison to average shifts in voting behavior. Religious affiliation or extent of formal education are examples of such Long-term variables.

We shall call a Medium-term variable any characteristic which might have been acquired either before or after the formation of a political attitude and which is of approximately equal permanence. Most prominent in this class are opinions on issues not easily or quickly settled. Attitudes toward Prohibition in the fifteen years following the First World War and isolationist sentiments in the past decade might be examples of this type of variable.

Short-term variables are characteristics which have most probably been acquired in the interim between two elections. Here belong opinions on issues only very recently arisen or toward events which can be definitely dated in the recent past. The value of the crop reaped in the summer preceding an election is a good example of the type of variable we include in this class.

On the basis of these two distinctions—one pertaining to the independent variables and the other to the dependent variable—we are led to expect six types of studies. The following scheme, we suggest, can profitably

be used as a frame of reference for studies of election returns.

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	
	Vote at One Election	Shifts in Vote Between Two Elections
Long-term	A	D
Medium-term	B	E
Short-term	C	F

In group A belong all those studies which have characterized the relatively stable social composition of the two major parties. These offer few logical difficulties, and have led to comparatively clear-cut results. By and large, they corroborate the findings of public opinion pools reported at the beginning of this section, and therefore, don't need to be discussed any further.

The studies in group B are probably the most troublesome. We know, for instance, that referenda on wet issues were always highly correlated with party vote: Democrats gave more support to Repeal than did Republicans. But, now the question arises, does this correlation mean that wets voted for the Democratic party, that the Democratic voters followed the anti-Prohibitionist line of their party platform, or, finally, that additional factors developed both anti-Prohibitionist sentiments and Democratic allegiances? The difficulty, of course, lies in the fact that political attitude itself, is likely to be a Medium-term variable—a characteristic whose time of acquisition cannot be definitely dated. And, unless one is fairly sure of the time sequence in which two characteristics were acquired, the correlation index relating these two characteristics can never be causally interpreted. A technique by which it seems possible to disentangle the interaction of two factors, for which, no definitive time sequence can be presumed will be published elsewhere.<sup>12</sup>

Because of the great importance of voting tradition in American political behavior<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> This is an elaboration of an idea suggested by Harold Gosnell in *Grass Roots Politics*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, a book which provides a large fund of examples for this section.

<sup>12</sup> P. F. Lazarsfeld on the "relative strength" of two interacting variables. Accepted for publication by the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*.

<sup>13</sup> Indices on party tradition are abundant. Corre-

the influence of recent events or newly acquired opinions on the distribution of votes in any single election is negligible. Therefore, these short-term variables can best be studied in their effect upon the minor shifts in vote between one election and the next. As a result, studies of type C have quite correctly been eliminated in favor of those of Type F.

The studies in group D are directed toward the investigation of two major types of problems. The first concerns those situations in which the candidates and platforms of both major parties remain substantially the same from one election to the next. If, under these virtually unchanged conditions the voters of certain well characterized groups show larger changes in vote than do other groups, this will be taken as evidence of a shift in their political allegiances. The shift of the Northern Negro vote from the Republican to the Democratic candidates in recent elections is a good illustration of this situation. Such shifts, while they constitute the great hope of campaign managers, are quite rare.

The second type of problem in group D represents the opposite situation. That is, the candidate, the platform, or both, of one of the major parties differs markedly from that of the preceding election. For instance, the candidates may differ in religion or occupational background; the platforms of two subsequent elections may diverge on important issues; and so on. If certain groups then shifted more than others, a correlation analysis would indicate for each group the special importance of differences in candidates or platforms within the same party. In 1944 Senator Wagner of New York was opposed by a candidate of Irish descent and there was much speculation, therefore, as to whether he would lose the Catholic vote. He certainly did not lose the election but whether the Catholics didn't vote against him or whether

their vote was compensated by the vote of other groups would be an interesting study belonging to group D. It would be necessary to study not only vote shifts between two or more senatorial campaigns; one would also have to compare the 1944 vote for senator and for president—all this in relation to the proportion of Catholics and with due regard to other ecological variables.

Studies in group E present no logical difficulties and they are particularly fruitful if the proper indices are found. Two types of problems belong here: the first concerns the way in which a small third party, discernible in some way or another, distributes its votes between the candidates of the major parties in an election where the party has no candidate of its own. We can usually locate this third-party group through election returns of primaries in which the party's candidate was defeated. The type of question which we raise here is: Did the voters who supported Willkie in the Wisconsin primaries support Roosevelt or Dewey in the 1944 election?

A second type of study in group E relates vote shift to opinion concerning a certain issue, assuming that this opinion has the character of a Medium-term variable. It is possible to show, for instance, that the wets in California shifted from one party to another according to the stand on Prohibition taken by the candidates of the parties.

Type F is especially revealing but, unfortunately, not often are the necessary data available. It was found, for instance, that between 1932 and 1936 counties in Pennsylvania which had benefited most from the different New Deal measures shifted more toward Roosevelt.<sup>14</sup> In Iowa, during the same period, those counties which suffered crop losses<sup>15</sup> tended to shift away from Roosevelt. An extension of this approach occurs when a sequence of economic events is correlated with shifts in votes for

<sup>14</sup> Harold F. Gosnell and William Coleman, "Political Trends in Industrial America: Pennsylvania as an Example," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 1940, 4, 473-486.

<sup>15</sup> Harold F. Gosnell and Norman Pearson, "The Study of Voting Behavior by Correlational Techniques," *American Sociological Review*, 1939, 4, 809-815.

the purpose of relating economic to political trends. The findings at this point, incidentally, are rather contradictory.<sup>16</sup>

More problematic is the correlation of vote shifts with recent issues. In dealing with such problems it is difficult to determine whether the shift in vote is the result of an attitude toward the issue, or whether the attitude is acquired following the shift in vote. For instance, voters may change from one party to the other for reasons of economic interest, and may then assimilate the stand of their new party toward issues of foreign policy. In no sense, then, could we consider attitudes on foreign policy the "cause" of vote shift. This is the same type of difficulty which is encountered in connection with studies of type B, and, in these cases, correlation techniques must be supplemented by other tools of analysis.

Another, and equally important, reason for the infrequency of studies of type F is that major events, wars or special measures of the Federal administration, are, of course, objectively the same for different areas of the country. One must assume, then, that these events or issues have different *meaning* for areas of different social composition. For instance, counties with a Polish population would be differently affected by Roosevelt's handling of the Russian-Polish controversy than would counties without Polish population. Or, counties with different types of industry would be differently affected by a tariff measure. This would lead back to studies of type D or E.

The time sequence of variables is not the only problem which besets correlation analysis. There are traditional problems of spurious factors, special conditions, and intervening variables, which have to be considered. But as they are not specifically characteristic of the study of voting behavior, they will not be further discussed here.

### III. THE PROBLEM OF SAMPLING IN PRE-ELECTION POLLS

There are three important steps in the

<sup>16</sup> For a bibliography, see W. C. Clark, *Economic Aspects of a President's Popularity*. Philadelphia: 1943.

construction of a sample which is to serve the purpose of estimating political affiliations.<sup>17</sup> They are:

- (1) Determination of the elements which are related to the survey objective—in this case the correlates of voting preference.
- (2) Location of cells which are representative of the related elements.
- (3) Drawing of random samples within each of these cells.

The first two steps are techniques of finding points at which interviews shall be made. In the present case they are, of course, communities. The third step is the application of methods of intra-community distribution. These two aspects of sampling—finding representative social points and making a thorough examination of the population at each point are, however, in conflict in a practical sampling situation. The more points chosen, the less thoroughly may each point be investigated and the more thorough the investigation of each point, the fewer the points which the financial limits of the survey will allow.

This dilemma, particularly characteristic of election polls, prompts the use of correlation as a basis for the stratification of their samples. It makes possible a minimum number of points and, therefore, maximum efficiency at each of them. Since the causal attributes are variable and interrelated, it is only necessary to sample their combined regression on election results and sample the residuals of the latter around this regression line. We have then sampled in respect to both the elements which determine voting proportions and also in respect to the vote itself as it has occurred in the past.

To make these somewhat abstract considerations more vivid, we shall assume that a polling organization wanted to predict the vote in upstate New York, prior to the election of 1944. This is a good case to choose, because the New York *Daily News* actually carried out such a prediction. They sampled every county in the State, and got uniformly

<sup>17</sup> For an easily accessible bibliography on modern sampling theory, see Hansen and Hauser, "Sampling in Marketing Research," *American Marketing Review*. 1944.



too many Republicans, with the result that they mistakenly predicted the State for Dewey. Now how would they have pro-

chanical, percentage of residences which are owner-occupied, percentage of owner-occupied homes which are mortgaged, etc.

Theoretical  
Vote

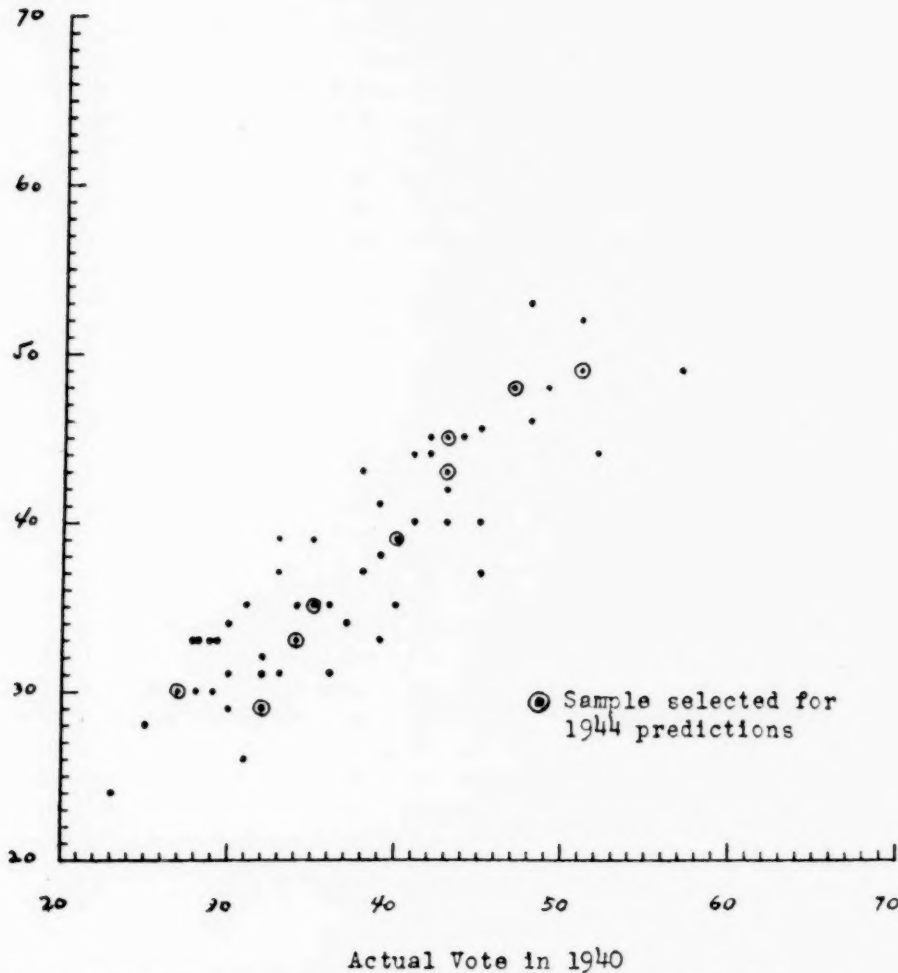


CHART I. Coordinate distribution of theoretical and actual percent Roosevelt vote in 1940  
(54 Upstate New York Counties)

ceeded if they had followed the reasoning just outlined?

The voting differences among counties are a reflection of socio-economic differences. Materials are available in respect to the 1940 status of New York counties in cultural factors—such as amount of education; budgetary factors—such as telephone, retail sales and tax returns; housing factors—such as percentage of refrigeration which is me-

Since these variables from which one may choose are intercorrelated it is possible to select small sets of variables which will yield a high multiple correlation with the 1940 returns. But since there are a large number of possible variables from which correlates may be chosen, methods for selection among these variables were developed.

The first step was to select the ten counties with the highest 1940 percentage Roose-

velt and the ten counties with the lowest 1940 percentage Roosevelt, and to tabulate for these all variables under consideration. It was then possible by inspection to choose two of the many variables as being high correlates with percentage Roosevelt in 1940. These two were percentage rural farm and per capita tax returns.

Correlations between 1940 voting and these two variables were computed for the 54 New York Counties which exclude Greater New York City and residential New York City (i.e., exclusive of the five boroughs, Nassau, Suffolk and Westchester). A multiple correlation was then found for these two factors and residuals were computed for all 54 counties. The five counties having the highest positive residuals and the five counties having the highest negative residuals were then tabulated for all of the remaining factors. Inspection of these distributions indicated that telephone and education both were correlated with the residuals and that of all materials available these two offered the best increments to the multiple. This evidence assured us that a use of percentage rural farm, tax returns, percentage elementary education only, and telephone development would yield a high relation with percentage Roosevelt vote in 1940.<sup>18</sup> The multiple correlation which we obtained was 0.89. This method of selection saved the calculating time necessary to compute correlations for a large number of likely combinations.

At this point, then, we know for each

<sup>18</sup> The matrix of zero order  $r$ 's of these five variables is shown below:

	% Roosevelt 1940 Vote	% Rural Population	Tax Returns Per 100 Families	% Elementary Education	Telephone Development
Percent rural farm 1940	-.73				
Tax Returns 1940	.72	-.86			
% Elementary or less 1940	.34	.10	-.21		
Telephone Devel- opment 1940	.21	-.48	.51	-.45	
$b$ in multiple regression	-.178	.381	.692	-.003	

upstate New York county how it voted in the last (1940) election, and how it would have voted if vote were determined only by the four variables which were finally selected as correlates. Chart I shows how close the relationship is, and serves at the same time as a basis for selecting counties in which to carry through the 1944 poll. The complicated task of stratified sampling is greatly simplified. Instead of having to deal with all the many possible combinations among the four correlates, we really deal now only with two kinds of counties: those on the regression line and those somewhat removed from it on both sides. By any kind of random procedure a few counties can now be picked from these two sets of counties as areas for sub-sampling.

At this point it is useful again to think of the differences in the Daily News procedure. Instead of having now to subsample 54 counties, only a dozen or less counties have to be sampled. With the same budget, it is obviously possible to carry this smaller county sample through in a much more careful way, and it can be assumed that we will know quite accurately the distribution of vote intention at the time of the poll in these sample counties.<sup>19</sup> From there on the final prediction becomes a mere matter of computation. For the nine counties selected for the sample we compute the multiple regression of our four chosen variates against the proportion of Republican or Democratic votes, as we find it in our survey. At this point, however, we may introduce a fifth independent variable—the vote of the preceding election.<sup>20</sup> It so happens in New York State that the vote from election to election is highly correlated and we may assume it will continue to be so between 1940 and

<sup>19</sup> The subsampling in the sample counties can be carried through in a variety of ways. If the county is fairly homogeneous, simple random sampling might be used. If it appears to be a very complex county, the procedure just described might be used once more by picking a number of smaller districts.

<sup>20</sup> Of course this multiple regression is for weighting purposes only. The multiple relation is known and only regression coefficients and constants need to be determined. Under these considerations the

1944.<sup>21</sup> Even if this high relation between votes in different election years were true for all states (which it is not), it would still be necessary to use the social factor correlates for selection and prediction. Since the nature of the voting in any year is basically determined by these characteristics, predictions for separate counties based upon them will not be subject to chance errors which may easily be present in previous election results due to temporary and local political influences within the counties.

The new regression equation, including the 1940 vote in the sample counties, permits an estimate of the 1944 vote for each of the 54 upstate counties when we know its 1940 vote, its latest tax returns, its percentage of rural farms, the proportion of its population which has elementary education or less, and the number of telephones per thousand families. For nine counties we have a poll; for the other counties we have an estimated vote based on intercorrelations derived from these polls.

The prediction for the State, then, consists in a simple weighted (by voting population) average of the estimates for the 54 counties.

The principle illustrated is to select carefully points which fully represent the relation between voting and its known correlates and then to obtain intensive coverage of these points. The News was much more in error in its upstate predictions than is the case in our example. If they had used intensive coverage of points selected in terms of some such relation, we feel sure that their error would have been smaller.

Two numerical experiments were actually carried through in two different sets of nine counties. The county polls, of course, were not actually conducted. As a basis for the computation, the real voting figures for 1944, when they became available, were used. The problem was how near one would come to the upstate total, if the vote in nine counties had been properly determined by interviewing. The actual voting result for upstate

ratio of number of cases to number of variables is unimportant.

<sup>21</sup> See footnote 14.

New York shows 44 percent for Roosevelt (including the soldier vote). The predicted figure was 43.2 percent from one of the sets of nine counties and 44.6 percent from the other set of counties.

Preceding the last election all of the polling organizations attempted to sample in relation to voting expectation. They differed widely, however, in the degree to which they sought social correlates as guides to stratification. The Roper organization (at one extreme) arranged its sample points and validated them on a basis of such criteria, whereas the Gallup Poll relied to a large extent upon random social assignment. (See Hearings before the Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures, House of Representatives H. Res. 551, Part 12.) This probably accounts for the consistent success of Roper's election predictions during the last three elections.

A final section of this review had to be omitted because of lack of space.<sup>22</sup>

## APPENDIX

### FACTOR ANALYSES OF POLITICAL DATA<sup>23</sup>

A large proportion of the factorial studies of political behavior have failed to use the more powerful and realistic methods of the factor analysts. It is hard to find examples in this field which do not exhibit the three deficiencies of (a) strict adherence to orthogonality (b) reliance upon arbitrary rotational criteria, and (c) the acceptance of quite meaningless results.

*The Doctrine of Orthogonality.* Factor analysis is a tool for finding concepts to integrate our knowledge. The factor analyst looks for a few basic variables which will permit him to describe or predict a wide range of specific behavior.

He would like to define these basic variables in such a way that they are uncorrelated among his subjects, for this would simplify matters. Anyone who uses multiple regression prefers that his independent variables be uncorrelated, for then each of the standardized partial

<sup>22</sup> It dealt with the following subject matter: (a) Different ways in which respondents might be asked about their vote intention. (b) The role of bias introduced by the interviewer. (c) The use of secret ballots. (d) A comparative discussion of different correlation indices. (e) The difference between chance error and mistakes in prediction.

<sup>23</sup> By W. S. Robinson.



regression coefficients is equal to the corresponding zero-order correlation between the independent and the dependent variable.

Unfortunately, however, the factor analyst also wants his concepts to "make sense," *i.e.*, to be interpretable and to fit into the already existing conceptual structure of his partially systematized body of knowledge. And this requirement, particularly in the social field, is often incompatible with the demand for orthogonality. Most evidence concerning the determiners of political attitude, for instance, suggests that these different determiners are correlated with each other. In the example which we shall discuss later, abandonment of orthogonality considerably clarifies the situation.

*Arbitrary Rotational Criteria.* Rotation is a search for design, or structure, among the intercorrelations of a set of tests. Structure does not get into a correlation matrix by chance; it appears because the factor analyst has put it there, by selecting a number of relatively homogeneous sub-sets of tests. And his reason for putting it there prescribes the kind of structure which will be acceptable.

A man collects a battery of tests and factors their intercorrelations because he suspects that a relatively simple order underlies them. He selects tests for inclusion in the battery in the light of a hypothesis or hunch as to the nature of that order.<sup>24</sup> If the specific order which he anticipated does not appear in the factor analysis, however, he may accept another if it seems plausible.

But the point of primary importance is that rotational criteria depend upon the hypothesis which guided the selection of tests for the battery. Consequently, the arbitrary adoption of rotational criteria, without regard to the purposes for which they are useful, is not a fruitful mode of procedure. The outcome of such arbitrary criteria is usually a good proportion of meaningless results.

To illustrate these remarks, consider a rotated factor matrix from Gosnell's *Machine Politics*.<sup>25</sup>

Gosnell finds a first factor which is very highly positively correlated with voting for Smith, Lewis, Roosevelt, and Igoe, with foreign birth, Catholic origins, voting a straight ticket,

and unemployment. This same factor is also highly negatively correlated with rent, education, and the proportion of women voting. This factor he calls the "Traditional Democratic Machine Vote."

The cogency of this interpretation, however, is by no means apparent. It seems reasonable to expect that party tradition (*i.e.*, "Are you a Democrat or a Republican?") influences present vote. And it seems equally reasonable that education and income (rent) also influence vote. But the two types of influence are quite different. Party tradition might be referred to as the "habitual" aspect of voting behavior, whereas education and income might be considered indices of a "motivational" complex. Yet Gosnell's first factor includes both kinds of influence. In other words, Gosnell's factor is a composite; it is not a simple and readily interpretable basic variable.

Gosnell's second and third factors are similarly ambiguous, although there is not space here to discuss them. The second is "The Wet and Extravagant Tendencies of Renters." This is negatively correlated with home ownership, and positively correlated with repeal vote, mobility, and education, although the correlation with rent is but .28. The third factor is "Special Influences Favoring Democratic Candidates," which correlates highly with vote for the Democratic candidates, and somewhat less highly with foreign birth and Catholic origins.

Because of the arbitrary decision to use orthogonal factors, these three factors are uncorrelated. It hardly seems realistic, however, to assert that factors influencing the Wet Vote and the Democratic vote in Chicago in the early 1930's were not correlated.

Table A presents a re-analysis of Gosnell's rotated matrix in which the restriction of orthogonal factors is dropped. This re-analysis is based on the hypothesis that the three factors really involved were: *Party Tradition*, represented by votes for Smith, Roosevelt, and Igoe; *Repeal*, represented by the Repeal Vote in 1930; and *Income* represented by rental and unemployment.

These factors possess marked advantages in both realism and interpretability. *Party Tradition* is positively correlated with voting for Democratic candidates, with foreign birth and Catholic origins, and with nothing else. *Repeal* (as a motivational factor) is correlated negatively with home ownership and the proportion of women registered, and positively with the 1930 Wet Vote, the Bond Issue Vote (which

<sup>24</sup> For a method of testing factorial hypotheses, see L. L. Thurstone, *The Vectors of Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935, pp. 171-177.

<sup>25</sup> Harold Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*. Chicago: 1937.

## PREDICTION OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

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TABLE A. AN ALTERNATIVE ROTATION OF GOSNELL'S FACTOR MATRIX EMPLOYING CORRELATED FACTORS

	PT	R	I			
Smith Vote, 1928	.306	.223	-.032	Transformation from Gosnell's Rotated Matrix		
Lewis Vote, 1930	.513	.028	.090			
Roosevelt Vote, 1932	.437	.162	-.046			
Igoe Vote, 1934	.441	.142	-.037	-.010	.269	-.544
Roosevelt Vote, 1936	.446	.096	-.051	-.041	.811	.313
Foreign Birth	.323	-.136	-.205	.999	-.520	.779
Catholic Origins	.259	-.019	-.274	Correlations Between the Factors		
Home Owners	.099	-.671	-.260			
Bond Issue Vote, 1930	-.079	.619	-.028	PT	R	I
Repeal Vote, 1930	.154	.565	.051	1.000	.536	-.763
Mobility	-.018	.363	.530	.536	1.000	-.246
Rent	.064	-.082	.593	-.763	-.246	1.000
Voting Straight Ticket	-.002	.281	-.488			
Unemployment	.033	.108	-.499			
Education	-.049	.046	.546	PT		
Per cent Registration	-.107	-.004	-.409	R		
Per cent Women Voters	.021	-.332	.371	I		
Per cent Multiple Families	-.015	-.312	-.134			

PT—Party Tradition R—Repeal I—Income

appeared on the same ballot), with voting a straight ticket, and with voting for Smith in 1928 (when the repeal issue was strongest). The third factor, *Income*, is correlated negatively with foreign birth, Catholic origins, voting a straight ticket, unemployment, and the proportion of adults registered to vote. It is positively correlated with mobility (apartment renters among the higher income classes), rent, education, and the proportion of women registered.

These factors, themselves, are correlated ap-

proximately as one would expect party tradition, repeal sentiments, and income to be correlated. *Party Tradition* (high proportions of Democratic vote are at the positive end of the scale) and *Repeal* have a correlation of .54. *Party Tradition* and *Income* are correlated  $-.76$  and *Repeal* and *Income*  $-.25$ . In short, the conclusion is that party tradition, wet sentiment, and economic issues were the primary determinants of vote in Chicago in the early 1930's.

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## ECONOMIC LIMITS OF INTERNATIONAL RESETTLEMENT\*

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AMONG the endless postwar projects now germinating are many looking to planned migration arranged by bilateral agreement or an international agency. The attempt to plan population mobility reflects a general conviction that unrestricted migration, a "free trade in peoples," is politically and perhaps even economically impossible. The spontaneous movement of individuals or families seeking greater opportunities, which reached the proportions of a mass movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was made possible by a unique combination of circumstances that certainly will not recur. Briefly stated, those circumstances were rapid industrial and demographic growth in Western Europe, together with the opening up and industrialization of thinly settled areas rich in resources and not too different in climate, soil, or agricultural potentialities from the migrant's area of origin. The many remaining areas of the world that await transition to a modern economy appear to be less favorably situated with respect to lands and other resources, and some of them already support a dense agricultural population. Those that are not closely settled constitute the remaining "open spaces" that figure in many of the proposals to provide new opportunities for the potentially large number of economic and political "refugees" from crowded agrarian regions and urban slums.

The present paper is limited to a narrow aspect of international migration. It deals only with the planned migration of groups and their resettlement on agricultural lands, and especially with a rather general consideration of such questions as resources, capital, and markets.

### MARGINALITY AND MARKETS

#### Of the unsettled and thinly settled areas

\*The writer is indebted to Professor Robert B. Warren of the Institute for Advanced Study for many helpful suggestions.

of the world, some are so clearly beyond feasible cultivation as not to enter seriously into discussions of agricultural expansion. This is at least true of the perpetually frozen arctic and those desert areas beyond any conceivable range of irrigation and possibly useless even if watered. With these exceptions almost every land and climatic type has been considered more or less seriously for colonization and settlement. The unsettled lands that might yield some sort of agricultural product may be roughly classified in two groups: (1) The remaining temperate and sub-arctic lands, including parts of Canada and Alaska, central Asia and Siberia, western Australia, and southern Africa and South America. Most of these areas have short growing seasons; some have scant and unreliable rainfall; and nearly all are difficult of access from existing transportation routes. (2) The unsettled or thinly settled tropical areas, including Central America and tropical South America, northern Australia, and parts of Central Africa. For the most part these areas have ample growing seasons and rainfall for some crops, but are unsuited both in climate and soil for diversified agriculture. The supposedly immense fertility of the tropics is for the most part illusory. The soils tend to be thin and to leach quickly under cultivation. Swamps when cleared and drained frequently prove to be sour; deserts when watered may develop strong alkalis. The luxuriant growth of natural vegetation in the tropical rain forest is well suited to climate and soil conditions; cultivated plants are far less lush after a season or two. Tree and bush crops might be extended in some of these regions, given transportation routes, markets, capital, and the rest of economic modernization. In addition to the strictly "open" spaces there are many thinly settled lands cultivated extensively that are sometimes viewed as allowing closer settlement with intensive cultivation.



It is a commonplace that the areas of the world are not equally suitable to agricultural exploitation, and a safe presumption that in general the lands not yet utilized are less suitable than those now in use—that is, that they are *marginal*. The unsettled lands referred to briefly above are in a poor competitive position by reason of climate, soils, or location, and frequently all of these together. Such is the clear conclusion of those geographers who in recent years have investigated the prospects for agricultural settlement.<sup>1</sup> The same considerations apply in varying degrees to the areas of extensive cultivation with respect to their intensified and diversified use leading to closer settlement.

The marginality of the open and thinly settled lands must be viewed as relative to existing and likely technology and markets, as well as relative to other economic opportunities. Thus the economic feasibility of resettlement programs varies with the area considered, the type of economic organization proposed, and the standards and alternative opportunities of potential migrants.

*Subsistence Pioneering.* The question of marginality of settlement lands is clearly illustrated in the problems of establishing diversified subsistence farms for settlers. Under the assumption that unsettled lands are to be used simply as a means of livelihood at subsistence farming, several limitations are immediately apparent:

1. The land available must be of such quantity and quality as to provide self-sufficiency in food and clothing, at least within the limits of the settlement community. Few of the available lands are of such character. Both the steppe lands and

the unsettled tropics appear much more suited to monoculture, that is, to commercial agriculture. The force of this limitation on subsistence agriculture can be reduced only in those areas providing additional means of support, for example in lumbering and mining, and agriculture becomes in effect part-time farming. Even the absence of such necessities as wood or other types of fuel, or of fencing materials, can either provide an absolute barrier to settlement or require a wholly uneconomic capital outlay.

2. The required capitalization, which in any case is very large for settlement of the remaining "open spaces," would be out of all proportion to the returns.<sup>2</sup> Even the minimum road construction necessary to make the areas accessible, the buildings, tools, and other equipment, the sinking of wells or other construction to secure water, the supplies necessary before first harvests, and similar minimal expenses would constitute a substantial expenditure for each family settled. To the extent that such enterprises can be expected to remain on a subsistence level without substantial market opportunities, the capital outlays would have to be regarded as endowments rather than investments. Subsistence settlements in fact have little to recommend them on economic grounds, since they could add but little to the world's supply of products and would be about the most expensive possible kind of relief while sacrificing most of the services and amenities available even to the poor in established communities.<sup>3</sup>

3. Subsistence pioneering actually requires special aptitudes not ordinarily found in the modern world. Contrary to nostalgic legend, the American true pioneer was a fairly late development in the settlement of the colonies and western territories, and the moderately successful one was a rarity. The "pioneer fringe" has always had to live outside a money economy, and to do this successfully

<sup>1</sup> See Isaiah Bowman, Ed., *Limits of Land Settlement*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1937; Bowman, "Population Outlets in Overseas Territories," in Charles E. Colby, Ed., *Geographical Aspects of International Relations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. 1-41; Bowman, *The Pioneer Fringe*, American Geographical Society Special Publication No. 13. New York: 1931; W. D. Forsyth, *The Myth of Open Spaces*. Melbourne and London: Melbourne University Press and Oxford University Press, 1942; W. L. G. Joerg, Ed., *Pioneer Settlement*. American Geographical Society Special Publication No. 14. New York: 1932.

<sup>2</sup> See Carl L. Alsberg, "The Food Supply in the Migration Process," in Bowman, Ed., *Limits of Land Settlement*. Pp. 25-56, especially pp. 43-44.

<sup>3</sup> See R. W. Murchie, *Land Settlement as a Relief Measure*. The Day and Hour Series of the University of Minnesota, No. 5. Minneapolis: 1933.

requires not only low standards but also special personal aptitudes.<sup>4</sup> Poverty may be conducive to low expectations, but is no guarantee of ability to achieve even minimal expectations under unfamiliar and extremely difficult conditions.

These considerations apply most forcefully with reference to potential European emigrants. Rising levels and standards of living, together with greater knowledge of hazards and past failures, have removed some of the appeal of the life of pioneer hardship. More attractive alternatives certainly exist even for those in somewhat crowded agrarian regions. It is to be recognized that for the political refugee removal from the country where he is subject to persecution is the overwhelmingly important relief measure required, and economic considerations may be regarded as only tangentially relevant. It is still probable, however, that subsistence settlement would entail greater expense for lower returns than would alternative solutions.

For the potential emigrants in East Asia the economic case against subsistence settlements is less clearcut. Certainly the displaced alternatives are smaller, although still sufficient to outweigh resettlement at heavy expense. Moreover, even the poverty-stricken agriculturalists of China and India would lose some advantages of market organization, customary consumption patterns, and the various services provided by established communities. Again it must be emphasized that greater poverty does not necessarily imply greater aptitude for the life of the pioneer.

*Domestic and World Markets.* The type of agriculture for which available settlement areas are best fitted is the commercial production of a limited number of products for domestic or world markets. Such monoculture generally requires substantial capitalization by way of equipment, storage or processing facilities, transportation routes and equipment, as well as complex market organization. The poorer the land with respect to climate, soil, and location, the

greater the capital and technical ability required to bring it into production at all. The fact that the unsettled areas are not exploited is at least presumptive indication that they provide exceptional barriers to profitable exploitation.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, with the partial exception of some tropical plantation crops, monoculture does not entail heavy labor requirements, and the exceptions are steadily decreasing under the impact of advanced technology and greater capitalization in established areas of cultivation.

If domestic markets already exist and are supplied by imports, new producers may be able to compete on the basis of lower transportation costs. However, for staple commercial crops this is unlikely, particularly if domestic producers with high costs must compete with established producers having better yields and lower costs and possibly even cheaper transportation to the domestic markets. Actually the countries of potential settlement have for the most part small domestic markets for those products that could be produced domestically. Tropical America needs no coffee, sugar, or bananas for domestic markets; there is no shortage of wheat, meat, or hides in Australia, Canada, and Argentina. The expansion of domestic markets depends upon urbanization and industrialization. Although partly supported by European capital exports and product imports, the taking up of the open spaces by primary producers in the

<sup>4</sup>A partial and very interesting exception is provided by Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet, etc. The heavy Chinese migration has for the most part involved an extension, under unfavorable conditions, of traditional intensive cultivation. The success of the migrants has been most marked in Manchuria where commercial and industrial development has gone on apace, and agriculture could be devoted to the production of a marketable commercial crop—soya beans. Given the requisite capital and markets, some of the steppe areas might be profitably exploited with extensive mechanized cultivation. See Bowman, *The Pioneer Fringe*. Pp. 267-295; George B. Cressey, "Chinese Colonization in Mongolia: A General Survey," in Joerg, Ed., *Pioneer Settlement*. Pp. 273-287; Owen Lattimore, "Chinese Colonization in Inner Mongolia: Its History and Present Development," in *ibid.*, pp. 288-312; C. Walter Young, "Chinese Immigration and Colonization in Manchuria," in *ibid.*, pp. 330-352.

<sup>5</sup>See Bowman, *The Pioneer Fringe*. Pp. 11-20.

past few centuries has been intimately connected with local economic development.<sup>6</sup>

Given industrial development in thinly settled countries, some new agricultural settlements might provide perishable foods for domestic consumption—especially in some tropical areas—and, more important, industrial crops, particularly bulky ones, for domestic processing. But with these exceptions the new areas would still be marginal relative to world markets, and on strictly economic (although not autarchic) grounds it might still prove preferable to import staple products from more favored areas.

The world market for agricultural products, and particularly for cereals and the commercial crops of the tropics, offers little prospect for new producers even were they favorably situated. Postwar relief may provide some additional markets until such time as displaced producers can harvest crops and distribution is based on ability to pay rather than on need. But a return to anything approximating prewar market conditions would entail surpluses and quantity controls rather than unsatisfied demand and rising prices. If in view of low levels of living and poor diets throughout the world the marketing problem be called underconsumption, this only shifts attention to the area of possible action and does not affect the position of the producer unless such action is taken.

Even in the event of greatly increased demand, possibly through rapid industrialization in densely settled areas, new settlements would fare poorly in competition with the established areas of commercial agriculture, already capitalized and able to expand production. The trend in the recent past has been for increases in agricultural production and productivity per capita and per area to develop more rapidly than the demand for food and fiber. If new competitors are to succeed they must be in an especially favorable position with respect to resources and costs, techniques, or specialized products for

which new demand can be developed. Stated somewhat differently, there is an unmistakable world occupational shift away from primary production, which becomes more efficient in the process. If it is proposed to move people out of industry and trade into agricultural production, the shift is exactly contrary to the main course and direction of economic expansion. If the transfer is simply from a crowded agricultural area to an undeveloped one, the question may be raised whether it would not be more economic to move into manufacturing, trade, or service occupations. Whether markets are expanding or contracting, the chances for new enterprise or new employment would seem to be smaller in agriculture than in manufacturing or trade.

#### CAPITAL REQUIREMENTS AND RETURNS

*Expenses of Migration and Settlement.* International migration, whether individual "infiltration" or organized colonization and settlement, has always been expensive. Many migrants have actually achieved the increased economic opportunity they sought in moving; others have not, and have paid a heavy price for the attempt. Many individuals and companies have profited along with the migrant; others have profited at his expense, and some have lost because of the migrant's failure. In view of the many interests that have been involved, the diversity of individual experience, and the difficulty of sorting out meager evidence, it is virtually impossible to arrive at precise conclusions in regard to the economic success or failure of past migrations. However, this does not bar an assessment of the contemporary situation.

International migration has become in recent years a more difficult and possibly more expensive process. Barriers to movement erected by the potential sending countries have reduced the ease of expatriation, liquidation of property holdings, and the like. The restrictions imposed by the receiving countries have not only tended to increase the expense of securing admission, but the financial, occupational, and similar qualifications have reduced the mobility of pre-

<sup>6</sup>See Frank Lorimer, "Population Factors Relating to the Organization of Peace," *International Conciliation*, 1941, No. 369, 440-453, April, 1941; Forsyth, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-61.



cisely those for whom migration might be most attractive. Improved levels of living at home and higher standards prompt the migrant to demand better conditions in transit and after his arrival in a new land than those with which earlier migrants were forced to be content. Most crucially, changing economic and humanitarian standards have limited the exploitation of the migrant for industrial and commercial profits. Ships designed for the slave trade no longer carry immigrants to the New World, and the importation of contract labor gangs has been greatly curtailed everywhere. The immigrant by and large has ceased to be a commodity.

The selection and initial support of immigrants for agricultural settlements are especially difficult. Whether potential settlers are drawn from urban or rural populations the likelihood of their having special competence for successful farming in the selected new area is small. As noted above, quite unusual aptitudes are required for pioneering. This means either an expensive process of trial and error in the settlement or an extremely careful selection and training of the settler.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, the chances for the migrant to find a level of living, including various community services, comparable to the one he leaves behind are especially small in a pioneer settlement. And if these services are provided *ad hoc* as part of the settlement scheme, the expenses per person are very high. Naturally the capitalization of a whole economic and social framework—including roads, schools, churches, sanitary facilities, and the like—cannot legitimately be charged to the first settlers unless the settlement involves only a temporary exploitation of resources. But this question of capital accounting does not affect the problem of the actual cost of the project. Either the settler must sacrifice many features of his previous level of living or the cost of settlement will be a great initial burden that the settler certainly will not be able to carry unassisted.<sup>8</sup> The costs of settlement and of super-

vision to aid the immigrant's adjustment are especially great precisely because of the poor quality of the settlement lands.

Such evidence and estimates as are available indicate that the cost per family for agricultural resettlement ranges from slightly over \$1000 to around \$20,000.<sup>9</sup> The differences reflect not only the variation of costs for particular items such as land and equipment according to location, but also lack of uniformity in expenses taken into account. Even the larger sums do not include the capitalization required for the community as distinct from the individual family. It is apparent that those persons for whom emigration and resettlement are suggested as providing new opportunities could not afford expenditures of this magnitude, and almost equally apparent that in narrowly economic terms the prospects for returns on capital or even its recovery are not especially favorable.

*Sources of Capital Supply.* In view of the foregoing considerations, the crucial query arises: Who bears the costs? In the spon-

"Many proposals put forward for settlement ignore or underestimate the additional capital needed for the endowment of the colony with roads, railways and other material mechanism for exploitation of the area, and with communal services for health, education and other social mechanism for the stability of the settlement. If this capital investment has already been largely made, opportunities must exist which are better suited and less costly for the re-establishment of refugees than settlement on the land. If the capital investment has not been made, it can be provided only by a nation which can sink capital in a colonial experiment without expecting a financial as distinct from a political return for some generations."

The refugee may be willing to sacrifice a great deal in view of his personal alternative of remaining subject to persecution and possibly death. However, this is no guarantee that his adjustment to new conditions will be either easy or successful, or that the community as a whole can survive without substantial "social capitalization."

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 534-535. See also Bowman, *The Pioneer Fringe*. Pp. 198-199; The Brookings Institution, *Refugee Settlement in the Dominican Republic*. Washington: 1942, pp. 19-20; International Labour Office, *Technical and Financial International Co-operation with Regard to Migration for Settlement*. Studies and Reports, Series O, No. 7. Geneva: 1938, p. 175.

<sup>7</sup> See Bowman, *The Pioneer Fringe*. Chaps. 3-5.

<sup>8</sup> As Sir John Hope Simpson observes (*The Refugee Problem: Report of a Survey*. London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1939, pp. 534-535),

taneous and undirected migrations of the past it was largely the individual family that bore the brunt of the burden both in financial outlay and in sacrifice of goods and services. Members of the immigrant's nationality group, public or private relief organizations, and the sending and receiving governments occasionally provided assistance. Some colonization schemes have been operated as commercial enterprises, but these settlements almost never succeeded from the immigrants' point of view and rarely from that of the investor.

There is no reason to suppose that the persons potentially available for resettlement will be able to meet the direct costs of transportation, land and equipment, and the like, even if private or public agencies undertake other capital expenditures. There is equally no reason to expect of commercial settlements greater success under less auspicious conditions than in the past.<sup>10</sup>

If the capital necessary for successful settlement is to be found, it must certainly be supplied in the main either by private settlement organizations or by governments. The private agencies are classified by the International Labour Office as those having a purely social purpose and those that must secure a return on private capital but do not expect speculative profits.<sup>11</sup> The Labour Office doubts the efficacy of either type in capital administration, but is perhaps over-optimistic about possible returns on capital investment under any administration.<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>10</sup> The Brookings Institution, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18; International Labour Office, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-33.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

<sup>12</sup> The case of the Japanese colonization company, Kaiga Kogyo Kaisha, cited by the ILO study (*ibid.*, pp. 18-19) is not in point on two counts: (1) Although nominally a private development company, it was actually more nearly an official agency and was heavily subsidized by the Japanese government. (2) Despite the economic success of the settled Japanese, made possible by extensive capitalization and detailed planning, selection, and direction, there is no evidence that the settlement company actually made any profit, or indeed that it intended to. The colonists have remained Japanese in allegiance and culture, and were certainly subsidized for partly political reasons. See J. F. Normano and Antonello Gerbi, *The Japanese in South America*. New York: The John Day Co., 1943.

recent cases of "successful" colonization (for example, the Japanese in Brazil and the Jews in Palestine) have been heavily capitalized both for industrial and agricultural development, and much of the capital has had to be justified in political or charitable rather than in strictly economic terms.

Any future international resettlement will probably require the financial assistance of governments in addition to assistance from international technical and political agencies, local authorities, and possibly private organizations. Even private settlement agencies have been assisted for the most part by land grants or special prices, reduced transportation charges, reduction of fees, and the like.

The financial participation of governments in resettlement programs introduces a somewhat different economic perspective. As compared with the economic interests of individuals or private organizations, those of states can and indeed must be viewed relative to longer time spans and broader considerations. For example, tariff protection for "infant industries" may be a defensible economic policy of states in view of the development thus fostered and notwithstanding hardships imposed on certain classes of consumers. Similarly, the development of unused lands or the establishment of an expanded market for manufactured goods might conceivably warrant a subsidy for agricultural settlements unable to succeed in open and unassisted competition. Such a view has apparently been partly responsible for the various forms of assistance to settlers not only by immigration countries but also by emigration countries seeking to find outlets for manufactured goods and profitable employment of capital among nationals abroad.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The British experience with assisted emigration certainly can give no comfort to the proponents of such schemes as economically advantageous. See, for example, Bowman, *The Pioneer Fringe*. Pp. 198-199.

It appears unlikely that emigration countries would finance settlement abroad simply as a means of reducing population. The people so exported necessarily represent heavy social costs in support through infancy and training, and a net loss of

There are, however, grounds for doubt as to the economic advantage to governments of this form of long-term "investment." As noted above, the establishment of subsistence farms can by definition lead to no capital accumulation or economic expansion as long as they remain at the subsistence level. On the other hand, even subsidized commercial agriculture cannot evade the problem of markets. Moreover, since the choice among alternatives is the essence of economic decisions, a government must also consider the likelihood of higher returns from industrial and commercial expansion at least as a preliminary to agricultural development, which in those circumstances may require little or no assistance. These considerations apply with almost equal vigor to those countries inclined to subsidize population exports.

A nation or colony that possesses potentially useful agricultural lands may seek settlers to fill up a "hollow frontier" for reasons of political expediency, or to provide additional military manpower, or as a gesture of goodwill toward refugees or the economically depressed. That these motives are "non-economic" in the customary sense does not make them unimportant. But it is essential to scientific appraisal to untangle the elements in official policy and avoid the uncritical acceptance of assisted migration as an eminently rational (that is, economic) solution to problems of population-resources ratios.

These conclusions are not fundamentally affected by either the size or the standards of the group to be resettled. Naturally, the resettlement of a strictly limited group such as European Jewish refugees would be more feasible than the establishment on new lands of all the "surplus" peasants of Eastern Europe or East Asia. Similarly, the resettlement of those groups having the lowest standards and aspirations, other things being equal, would be less expensive and more attractive than the resettlement of those accustomed to Western urban standards. However, the economic case against agricultural resettlement is so clear that the force of its

labor resources. Domestic relief would be cheaper, and domestic capitalization much more productive.

application to particular groups is only a matter of degree.

#### RESETTLEMENT IN BROADER PERSPECTIVE

To concentrate attention solely on the economic problems of international resettlement is certainly to neglect other important issues. However, economic considerations are at least relevant to decisions that may be taken primarily on other grounds.

Thus, it has been indicated that many of the remaining unsettled lands are on the climatic "fringes" of successful settlement. Climatic suitability is a broader problem than the conditions necessary to produce crops. A much mooted question is the ability of white settlers to survive in the tropics. Stated in these bald terms, the evidence of the Panama Canal Zone, Costa Rica, Queensland in Australia, and other tropical areas gives a clearcut affirmative answer. However, the question is often debated in seemingly "racial" terms by authors who in fact discuss the suitability of the tropics for advanced levels of living and standards of health, and indeed the whole complex of European civilization.<sup>14</sup>

It is probably correct to say that few areas of the world are beyond the ability of modern technology to make them suitable for most of the attributes of Western civilization, except that many of them cannot be made so *economically*. If tropical or arctic areas provide sufficient economic opportunities they can be made livable, but those opportunities will have to be greater than those offered elsewhere precisely because of climatic difficulty.

If the preceding discussion is substantially correct, it casts serious doubts on the merit of current proposals for resettlement. Al-

<sup>14</sup> The most comprehensive survey of the evidence (A. Grenfell Price, *White Settlers in the Tropics*. American Geographical Society Special Publication No. 23. New York: 1939) is marred by the author's almost total failure to distinguish the aspects of "white" settlements that are relevant to the problem. Had he done so, it would certainly have appeared that the presumed success of colored peoples in the tropics is grossly overrated if judged by "white" standards of consumption, health, longevity, and the like.



though the development of agricultural resources cannot be considered as entirely in the past, it is essential that the actual course of past and probable future developments be accurately appraised. The expansion of the world's agricultural output has been intimately associated with and dependent on the technology and markets afforded by industrialization. This relationship means that the most favorable settlement opportunities of the future will be provided by those areas that are rich in resources but thinly settled, and that can be expected to expand industrial production when the requisite capital and skills become available. Settlement in other areas may be justified on a variety of grounds, but those grounds are not likely to include a more favorable balance of resources and population. The principal economic opportunities of the future, even more than in the past, are likely to be industrial, commercial, and professional rather than agricultural.

International migration cannot be completely dismissed as a means of equalizing opportunity, since economic expansion and industrial location involve factors in addition to labor supply. The point here debated is not the economic feasibility of migration to industrial areas, or possibly of industrial colonization. Certainly migration may be a necessary solution for political refugees. The essential point of present relevance is that the opportunities at home or abroad are likely to be greater in industrial and associated activities than in agriculture. As Sir John Hope Simpson has pointed out,<sup>15</sup> the merit of the new settlement or colony in the refugee's eyes is the opportunity to live in a community of his fellows. He thereby hopes to retain his culture and the companionship of those of like mind. But this adds to the difficulties rather than reducing them. Although he may receive greater assistance because of his unfortunate status and owing to the interest of his more fortunate fellows and those with humanitarian sympathies, he lessens his chances for acceptance by the potential settlement country

and for his economic and political assimilation in his new homeland. The sword of ethnic exclusiveness cuts both ways, and no nation will willingly accept immigrants who can be expected to resist assimilation, whatever the moral and economic merits or demerits of the case.

The problems of assimilation and ethnic homogeneity are given added point by the fact that they apply most critically to those groups for whose resettlement the superficially best economic case could be made. Those peoples suffering most seriously from the "pressure" of population (that is, relative to productive capacity with undeveloped technology) are precisely those who would be least acceptable in those countries under Western rule. Moreover, and paradoxically, they are the peoples for whom agricultural resettlement would provide the least relief under present circumstances. This is true not only for the obvious reason that no conceivable emigration could equal the population growth of China or India, for example, but also for the reasons that resettlement abroad might simply transplant a way of life maintaining high birth and death rates and rapid growth while not appreciably retarding the growth in the homeland.<sup>16</sup> If resettlement took place under the conditions most conducive to economic success (that is, as part of a general economic development of sparsely peopled areas), the settlers might be placed in an environment sufficiently "urban" or "modern" to ensure transition to individualistic values and controlled fertility. Such a result would be more likely if the areas under pressure were already undergoing such a transition, and in these circumstances resettlement could provide some substantial assistance in effecting the change. In the absence of these conditions, the world will fare poorly by the exploitation of reserve lands along the lines and by the peoples least suited to modern economic development.

<sup>16</sup> See Frank W. Notestein, "Problems of Policy in Relation to Areas of Heavy Population Pressure," in Milbank Memorial Fund, *Demographic Studies of Areas of Rapid Growth*. New York: 1944, pp. 138-158.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 534.

## INTEREST CRITERIA IN PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS

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AS IN SOCIOLOGY generally, scientific propaganda analysis necessarily employs many types of criteria. These include criteria of objectivity, adequacy, generalization, interpretation, causation, prediction, and interest. Of these, criteria that are frequently taken too much for granted and that usually demand most careful statement, assessment, and restatement are those associated with interest, interest in the sense of the individual, group, and general societal objectives or purposes served.<sup>1</sup> It is with these interest criteria that the present paper deals.<sup>2</sup>

In propaganda analysis, it has been common to describe interest criteria in a general way by saying that the purposes of the analysts are "to help the intelligent citizen to detect and to analyze propaganda."<sup>3</sup> This is not to be taken as a narrow, purely indi-

vidualistic or individualism-promoting approach, an effort merely to help individuals to serve their own selfish interests the better. On the contrary, the conception is thrown into a broader perspective by the pointing out that the more clear-eyed and intelligent citizens we have, the more who can detect and understand actual issues at stake in a social agitation or conflict, the more adequately can the societal aggregate comprising such persons and their fellows meet changed life conditions as they arise. Or, as it has been stated, the "challenge to democracy is for Americans and all others who believe in it to keep on making their own decisions concerning our problems, and to keep on inviting free—even though dangerous—choices among the alternatives presented to us."<sup>4</sup> Out of such realistic individual decisions, when participated in by enough citizens, it is claimed that wise social policy will result.<sup>5</sup> This position also recalls the parallel conclusion of Morris R. Cohen<sup>6</sup> that

*Fine Art of Propaganda*. Harcourt, Brace and Co. and Institute for Propaganda Analysis, 1939, p. i.

<sup>1</sup> Lee and Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> For a recent summary of this viewpoint in modern terms, see Zechariah Chafee, Jr., "Free Speech Today," in his *Free Speech in the United States*. Harvard University Press, 1941, pp. 559-566. See also Howard Woolston, "Free Speech in War Time," *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 7, 1942, pp. 185-193. For controversial discussions chiefly of interest criteria in propaganda analysis, see Bruce L. Smith, "Propaganda Analysis and the Science of Democracy," *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 5, 1941, pp. 250-259; Clyde R. Miller, "Some Comments on Propaganda Analysis and the Science of Democracy," *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 5, 1941, pp. 657-665; and William Garber, "Propaganda Analysis—To What Ends?" *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 48, 1942, pp. 240-245.

<sup>3</sup> "Method, Scientific," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. Macmillan, 1933. Vol. 10, pp. 389-396, p. 395 quoted. See also Dwight Sanderson, "Sociology a Means to Democracy," *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 8, 1943, pp. 1-9; and D. G. Haring and Mary E. Johnson, *Order and Possibility in Social Life*. R. R. Smith, 1940, esp. chap. 23, "The Scientific Mood."

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this paper, "interest" has the sense of objectified desire or purpose, whether realizable or delusory. It relates especially to concerns and responsibilities, in the case of groups and of society, that are popularly regarded as being primarily economic and political. This definition is similar to that of R. M. MacIver, "Interests," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. Macmillan, 1932, Vol. 8, pp. 144-148, esp. p. 144. Cf. Albion W. Small, *General Sociology*. University of Chicago Press, 1905, pp. 425-436; W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*. Ginn and Co., 1906, pp. 62-64 *et passim*; R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. University of Chicago Press, 1924, pp. 494-497.

<sup>2</sup> In developing the materials and viewpoints presented in this paper, the author is indebted to his colleagues and former associates during his tenure as Executive Director, Institute for Propaganda Analysis. He refers especially to Kirtley F. Mather, Harvard University, Institute President; F. Ernest Johnson, Columbia University and Federal Council of Churches, Vice-President; Clyde R. Miller, Columbia University, Secretary of the Board; Clyde Beals, formerly Institute Editor, now of *Fortune Magazine*; and Barrington Moore, Jr., formerly Institute Research Assistant, now of the U. S. Department of Justice.

<sup>3</sup> Descriptive statement concerning the program of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Inc., frequently reprinted. See A. M. and E. B. Lee, *The*

the "safety of science depends on the existence of men who care more for the justice of their methods than for the value of any results obtained by using them."

But these statements, as they stand, still leave much to be desired in an understanding of the role of interest criteria in propaganda analysis or, for that matter, in any broad type of sociological analysis. Class theorists have shown cleavages between class and societal objectives that preclude looking upon "public interest" as a bare average or even a mutually satisfactory compromise of existing class interests.<sup>7</sup> The roles of rationalization, group-membership, and personal frustration and aspiration in individual thinking similarly differentiate "public interest" from an approximation of average individual interests. Proposals might be said to be in the "public interest" when they can be demonstrated to be contributions to the general welfare rather than disproportionately to the special privileges of a class, group, or individual, but in practice the extreme difficulty of such a demonstration makes for the frequent use of the term to obscure or hide the selfish nature of special interest proposals.<sup>8</sup>

But before going any further in attempting to define interest criteria for propaganda analysis or to indicate their roles, it will be profitable to summarize briefly first the nature of propaganda and of propaganda analysis, as they are conceived here.

Propaganda is usefully viewed as an element in social unrests, competitions, and conflicts, in social control, and in struggles for power and against domination. It is the employment of words, symbols, ideas, events, and personalities with the intention of for-

warding or attacking an interest, cause, project, institution, or person in the eyes and minds of a public. More briefly, it is opinion expressed for the purpose of influencing the beliefs and actions of individuals or groups.<sup>9</sup>

The equating of propaganda analysis with content analysis<sup>10</sup> has a tendency to sever the words carried through mass communications mediums from their uses, from their social relationships. Propaganda analysis is one of a number of approaches to an understanding of efforts at social control and manipulation, at agitation and possible reform or societal adaptation, of the tensions and movements arising out of differences in social interest and personal aspiration.<sup>11</sup>

Just as a psychoanalyst treats the words, tonal modifications, and facial and other physical expressions and movements of his patient as overt symptoms of complex psychological ramifications, so one analyzing propaganda should regard propaganda utterances (auditory or visual, regardless of form) as symptoms of even more complex socio-psychological and societal situations. Just as a psychoanalyst is a psychological trouble-shooter as well as a practitioner of certain curative arts and sometimes also a gatherer of clinical experiences with which to broaden his field, so the propaganda analyst might well place himself in the perspective of being a social-problem diagnostician and a collector of clinical experiences in his area.

\*For a more detailed discussion of the nature of propaganda and propaganda analysis, see the author's "The Analysis of Propaganda: A Clinical Summary," in a forthcoming issue of *American Journal of Sociology*.

<sup>10</sup>In the manner, for example, of H. D. Lasswell and Dorothy Blumenstock, *World Revolutionary Propaganda*. A. A. Knopf, 1939; see esp. pp. 109-111. See also: H. D. Lasswell, "The World Attention Survey," *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 5, 1941, pp. 456-462; Dorothy B. Jones, "Quantitative Analysis of Motion Picture Content," *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 6, 1942, pp. 411-428; and Morris Janowitz, "The Technique of Propaganda for Reaction: Gerald L. K. Smith's Radio Speeches," *Public Opinion Quarterly*. Vol. 8, 1944, pp. 84-93.

<sup>11</sup>See "American Common Sense," *Propaganda Analysis*. Vol. 4, 1940-42, No. 8.

<sup>7</sup>The class ethnocentrism even of many social theorists has been pointed out clearly in such recent articles as the following: E. H. Sutherland, "White-Collar Criminality," *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 5, 1940, pp. 1-12; W. F. Whyte, "Social Organization in the Slums," *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 8, 1943, pp. 34-39; and C. Wright Mills, "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists," *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 49, 1943, pp. 165-180.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. *Dictionary of Sociology*. H. P. Fairchild, Ed., Philosophical Library, 1944, p. 161.



To suggest the breadth of adequate analysis of the propagandas in a social agitation, it should be noted that at least five types of inquiry may well be undertaken, types that overlap but that suggest the comprehensiveness desirable when possible. These approaches to propaganda analysis call for the examination of the (1) societal, (2) social psychological, (3) communications, (4) psychological, and (5) technical characteristics and relationships of the propagandas. In other words, the analyst needs to examine and understand as much as possible (1) of the societal ramifications of the unrest, competition, or conflict<sup>12</sup>; (2) of the social psychological appeals employed and their effectiveness<sup>13</sup>; (3) of the rôle of available communications mediums in furnishing and withholding access to audiences and in coloring messages carried<sup>14</sup>; (4) of the psychological equipment of the propagandists<sup>15</sup>; and (5) of the propaganda techniques and strategies being employed.<sup>16</sup>

To continue with the discussion of the definition of propaganda and at the same time to return to the problem of interest criteria in propaganda analysis, it is well to take up the use of propaganda as a bad label, as something distinct from such virtuous conceptions as "education" and "science." As Leonard W. Doob and E. S. Robinson<sup>17</sup> have noted, "A naïve, yet widely current, view of propaganda, which has resulted largely from the evils associated with the [first world] war, identifies the term simply with the dissemination of ideas that are false, unwholesome, or subversive. To many

members of the American Bar Association a realistic discussion of constitutional law is 'propaganda,' while the conservative and idealistic treatment of the same subject is 'education.' There are undoubtedly radicals who would merely reverse the application of these terms. In either case, propaganda in this sense is a moral and partisan rather than a psychological concept. Its application depends, not upon a naturalistic description of mental processes, but upon the ethical and political standards of a limited social group."

Group or class ethnocentrism thus finds an expression both in the construction of an education-propaganda dichotomy, such as Doob and Robinson mentioned, and also in a distinction between something called "science" and a straw figure labeled "propaganda." Let us look briefly at these alleged distinctions.

It is admitted that education may be defined as something different from propaganda, but most such definitions assume a social vacuum or demand the achievement of a utopia in the reorganization of the social structure. Education, for example, has been regarded by some as a process of individual development in which all doctrines and principles are examined objectively and accepted strictly on their merits, but such a definition immediately strikes one as being unrealistic. To the extent that education is, as generally understood, "the impartation or acquisition of knowledge, skill, or development of character, as by study or discipline," and especially "development of character," to quote the Merriam Dictionary definition, it has about it the nature of a "plan for propagating a doctrine or system," one of the same dictionary's definitions for propaganda. The chief manner in which education may differ from propaganda, therefore, as is contended below, is in the purposes served, and in practice even that difference may be questioned in many specific cases. The activities of utility corporations,<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See *Propaganda Analysis*. Esp. Vol. 4, 1940-42, Nos. 4, 8, and 11.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Esp. Vol. 3, 1939-40, pp. 105-111; and Vol. 4, 1940-42, Nos. 4 and 11.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* Esp. Vol. 1, 1937-38, pp. 12-32, 53-64; and Vol. 4, 1940-42, Nos. 1, 3, 4, 9, 12, and 13.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* Esp. Vol. 2, 1938-39, pp. 13-28, 61-77; and Vol. 3, 1939-40, pp. 19-28, 43-52.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* Esp. Vol. 1, 1937-38, pp. ix-xiii, 5-18. See also Lee and Lee, *op. cit.*, esp. chaps. 3-10, and the author's "The Analysis of Propaganda: A Clinical Summary," in a forthcoming issue of *American Journal of Sociology*.

<sup>17</sup> "Psychology and Propaganda," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Vol. 179, May 1935, pp. 88-95, p. 88 quoted.

<sup>18</sup> Federal Trade Commission, *Summary Report . . . on Efforts by Associations and Agencies of Electric and Gas Utilities to Influence Public Opinion* (70th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Senate Docu-

bankers,<sup>19</sup> and the National Association of Manufacturers and its affiliates<sup>20</sup>—not to dwell on such activities by patriotic, women's, labor, civic, and other pressure groups—suggest the nature of the actual situation.

In the contrasts that have been made between science and propaganda, it is of course possible to uphold the superiority of scientific conclusions, based upon adequate observations, over casual opinions—when these have differed—that are spun out of random observations, prejudices, personal and group interests, and imaginings. But the propaganda analyst understands that both scientific conclusions and purely imagined ideas may be woven together into propaganda. Economics and "economic specialists" have demonstrated this time and again.<sup>21</sup> Propaganda ideas, words, personalities, and events may be true or false, good or bad, for or against the interests the investigator assumes to be those of himself and of the groups to which he belongs—the interests taken to be those "of society."

All this is not to say that propagandists, educators, and scientists cannot be differentiated as social types. But it is to point out that they differ more in purposes, as those purposes are socially understood, than in other respects, even though propagandists and educators also differ somewhat from scientists in the techniques they employ.<sup>22</sup>

ment 92 Part 71A). Government Printing Office, 1934, esp. pp. 130-221.

<sup>19</sup>D. C. Blaisdell and Jane Greverus, *Economic Power and Political Pressures* (Temporary National Economic Committee, Monograph No. 26). Government Printing Office, 1941, pp. 130-131.

<sup>20</sup>"Propaganda Over the Schools," *Propaganda Analysis*. Vol. 4, 1940-42, No. 4. See also report of N.A.M. textbook survey, *New York Times*, December 11, 1940; and U. S. Senate Committee on Education and Labor ("La Follette Committee"), "The National Association of Manufacturers," Report No. 6, Part 6 of *Labor Policies of Employers' Associations* (76th Congress, 1st Session). Government Printing Office, 1939, esp. pp. 180-206.

<sup>21</sup>See, for example, the case mentioned by Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *America in Midpassage*. Macmillan, 1930, Vol. 1, pp. 109-110.

<sup>22</sup>For notes on relations between scientific research and propaganda for industrial interests, see E. R. Weidlein and W. A. Hamor, *Glances at In-*

The purpose of a scientist is to extend his own and society's knowledge of some area of nature. At worst, the purpose of an educator is to create—consciously or unconsciously—like-minded students, and at best, it is to open and strengthen the minds of students so that they can achieve maximum social usefulness. The purpose of the propagandist is to achieve specific individual and social goals; these goals may be selfish or selfless, socially destructive or constructive, "bad" or "good."

But despite such generally acceptable definitions, many strained efforts continue to appear of what Edrita Fried<sup>23</sup> calls "Manipulating the Stigma of Propaganda," reflections chiefly of the pervasive group ethnocentrism of the propaganda analyst. If group-centered cultural criteria are not to be used in this manner by a scientific analyst, however, what interest criteria are permissible, and in what ways are they serviceable? Let us examine briefly the nature of societal, group and class, and individual criteria of interest and their rôles, with these questions in mind.

Societal interest criteria—variously identified with "the greatest good of the greatest number," "human progress," "societal adaptation," "social welfare," "empire interest"<sup>24</sup>—are frequently stated as the only ones adhered to by those calling themselves propaganda analysts and other types of social scientists. Implied in such statements are at least these two questionable assumptions: (1) that such criteria are actually understood and adhered to; and (2) that such criteria are adequate, not requiring the perspective provided by class, group, and individual interest criteria.

The difficulty with such societal criteria,

*dustrial Research: During Walks and Talks in Mellon Institute*. Reinhold Publishing Corp., 1936, esp. chap. 13.

<sup>23</sup>"Techniques of Persuasion," in *Propaganda by Short Wave*. H. L. Childs and J. B. Whitton Eds. Princeton University Press, 1942, pp. 261-301, p. 266 quoted.

<sup>24</sup>This last is a common and powerful catchphrase in wartime England; the others are familiar in American politics and in the literature of social theory.

when they are unrefined by scientific scrutiny, is that they are defined by and are a part of the morals or moral idealizations of society, as such morals are interpreted from a given group or class standpoint.<sup>25</sup> In other words, popular societal criteria tend to be protean derivations in all too many cases, made up of vague claims to impartiality and to a broad perspective upon human activities. The immorality<sup>26</sup> of the following statement, to which many sociologists would probably object, at least in peacetime, is a case in point of the pervasiveness of moral idealizations in the definition of societal criteria: "Assertion of the inherent 'sacredness' of life is a negation of society's interest and an abdication of judgment based upon a knowledge of the nature and evolution of society."<sup>27</sup> Regardless of their probable or improbable relationship to adequate societal evidence, such statements are not subjected to scientific verification or rejection; they are cried down. "Mutual aid," a conception introduced into sociological literature in its popular form by an idealistic anarchist,<sup>28</sup> is a much nobler notion than "antagonistic co-operation"<sup>29</sup> or

theories of conflict or domination. "Mutual aid" is, therefore, widely referred to and admired, regardless of evidence that makes it look like an over-simple conception.

The fact that societal criteria, in a realistic sense, are not widely understood and adhered to by sociologists is thus due chiefly to their failure to distinguish between generalizations based upon factual descriptions of societal behavior and value judgments based upon group versions of their society's traditional-moral idealizations. Or, where factual descriptions are inadequate at present, their failure to suspend judgment in the face of that which is only vaguely or prejudicially understood.<sup>30</sup> This has resulted, for example, in criminologists in many cases ignoring white-collar criminality and accepting the current moral definition of crime as their social group traditionally views that definition;<sup>31</sup> in urban sociologists characterizing slums as "areas where there are no standards of decency or social conduct except those imposed by outside authority," a smug and uninformed professional-group viewpoint;<sup>32</sup> and in "social pathologists" who are "middle-class persons verbally living out Protestant ideals in the small towns of America" rather than scientists attempting to gain and impart an objective societal perspective upon human social problems.<sup>33</sup>

Just as versions of societal interest are

<sup>25</sup> Morals are taken to be traditional generalities concerning right, wrong, duties, rights, and taboos handed down traditionally in a society and frequently formalized into sets of commandments, codes of ethics, or sets of ethical principles. They contain large elements of asceticism and humanitarianism. They represent, usually, crystallizations of a society's traditional aspirations and hopes. Morals are chiefly significant in shaping the super-egos of the young and in providing righteous justifications, suitably and variously interpreted, for certain social institutions and courses of action. Morals have no necessary congruity with a group's mores or with an individual's conscious habit patterns.

<sup>26</sup> In the sense of being counter to the societal morals, not necessarily to group or class mores.

<sup>27</sup> W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*. Yale University Press, 1927, Vol. 1, p. 614.

<sup>28</sup> Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor in Evolution*. A. A. Knopf, 1922. See discussion of "mutual aid" in such a widely used textbook as W. F. Ogburn and M. F. Nimkoff, *Sociology*. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1940, pp. 347-348.

<sup>29</sup> Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28. See also George Devereux and E. M. Loeb, "Antago-

nistic Acculturation," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, 1943, pp. 133-147.

<sup>30</sup> As Haring and Johnson (*op. cit.*, p. 421) note, "With diligence one may learn to discriminate between the authority of tradition and majority opinion, and the validity of interdependent, verifiable data."

<sup>31</sup> E. H. Sutherland, "White-Collar Criminality," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 5, 1940, pp. 1-12.

<sup>32</sup> Quotation is from R. D. McKenzie, "The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 27, 1921-22, pp. 145-168, 344-363, 486-509, 588-610, 780-799, p. 506 quoted and analyzed by W. F. Whyte, "Social Organization in the Slums," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, 1943, pp. 34-39.

<sup>33</sup> C. Wright Mills, "The Professional Ideology of Social Pathologists," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 49, 1943, pp. 165-180, p. 180 quoted.



defined by society's moral idealizations and warped by group interpretations thereof, dictated by group mores,<sup>34</sup> and also by individual interpretations thereof, dictated by individual habit patterns and moretic definitions of individual interest, so group and individual interests are similarly defined in a popular sense. The individualized habit patterns include, of course, both conscious and subconscious ones and usually deviate to no great extent or only in limited areas from the moretic norms.

To increase his objectivity, the scientific propaganda analyst thus finds it necessary to dissociate himself from the ethnocentric and egocentric influences of such popular interest criteria. And he does this in at least two ways. These are: (1) through the objective examination and criticism of societal, group, and individual criteria of the popular sort by applying to them realistic measures

<sup>34</sup> Mores are taken to be folkways (*i.e.*, traditional patterns of behavior and belief common to a group) general adherence to which is popularly regarded to be necessary for the welfare of society, or at least of the group. Mores are practical, expedient, and compulsive; their contrast with society's morals is one measure of what is popularly called hypocrisy. Such subjects as theology concern themselves to a great measure with working out rationalizations between morals and group mores.

Mores and other folkways are so inclusive that an adult member of a group finds himself equipped to handle most problems involving social relationships in their terms rather than through reference to more rational procedures. Somewhat of the process of "becoming mature" in our society consists in a person accommodating his moral superego to the needs of a moretic (*i.e.*, mores-shaped) person.

Only in times of critical maladjustment in society do the folkways fail to furnish folkways-molded individuals with rather automatic guidance in their social relationships, with definitions of the "common sense" things to do. At times of crisis, the resulting bewilderment emphasizes the all-embracing character of such traditional guidance and the trauma occasioned by being forced to face trying social problems without a preconceived and socially tested formula.

This definition, like that of morals in footnote 25, contrasts with those of "morals" and "mores" by T. D. Eliot and A. G. Keller in *Dictionary of Sociology*. H. P. Fairchild, Ed., Philosophical Library, 1944, pp. 198-199. Cf. Sumner, *op. cit.*, esp. chaps. 1 and 2.

of possibility or practicality, and (2) through seeing the shortcomings of any one set of interest criteria—societal, group, or individual—regardless of how objective, that is to say, through seeing the need for relating the propagandas of a given agitation to the welfare and potentialities of each type of aggregate. The frank and conscious use of objective criteria of individual interest permits the analyst to understand his own relationship or that of some other person to the struggles in progress, to understand his own role as the point from which he has no choice but to view anything in society that he wishes to study. Group interest criteria and preferably experimentations with various group criteria furnish perspectives upon societal agitations and struggles, including information concerning the circulation of groups vertically and otherwise, that overall societal interest criteria tend to ignore or gloss over. To a scientist, societal criteria become largely efforts to estimate societal consequences of competing and conflicting groups and forces, a frame of reference into which the other criteria may or may not fit.

Propagandas relating to war, imperialism, and socialized *versus* traditional medical practice illustrate these points and especially the shortcomings of any one of the sets of interest criteria. War and imperialism have been widely declared by social theorists not to be profitable to countries involved in such activities, and the activities still persist. Both war and imperialism do, of course, serve the interests of specific individuals and groups. War does this in terms of financial gain, political control, flight from boredom, self-glorification, self-destruction, and the persistence of social aggregates. Imperialism may place an inordinate burden upon the masses of a country in human lives and taxes, but to individuals and groups it represents an easy route to luxury, the maintenance of a class system, and other narrow values.<sup>35</sup> Excellent cases have also been

<sup>35</sup> Willard Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back*. Dryden Press, 1944, esp. chaps. 1-6; E. F. M. Durbin and John Bowlby, *Personal Aggressiveness and*

made out against the traditional practice of medicine from a societal viewpoint, as having characteristics of a monopoly in restraint of human welfare, but these have neglected powerful group and individual interest factors that have moved but slightly under tremendous pressure.<sup>36</sup>

In summary, then, interest criteria in propaganda analysis as in other aspects of

*War*. Columbia University Press, 1939; Walter Millis, *Road to War: America 1914-1917*. Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935; and Maurice R. Davie, *The Evolution of War*. Yale University Press, 1929.

<sup>36</sup> "U. S. Medicine in Transition," *Fortune Magazine*. Vol. 30, No. 6, December 1944, pp. 156-163, 184, 186, 188, 190, and 193; "Health and the Doctors," *Propaganda Analysis*. Vol. 4 1940-42, No. 11; Kingsley Roberts, *Medical Care in Selected Areas of the Appalachian Bituminous Coal Fields*. Bureau of Cooperative Medicine, 1939.

sociology and social psychology are desirable parts of a scientific frame of reference, expressed in terms of societal, group and class, and individual interest criteria. Popularly these criteria are formulated by societal morals, group mores, and conscious and sub-conscious individual habit patterns, and these popular criteria are so all-pervasive that sociologists require considerable study and effort to dissociate themselves from prejudicing aspects of them. In attempting such dissociation, they can gradually work out a frame of reference that will permit the use of all three types of interest criteria. The sociologist can thus orient himself, interest-wise, to the social phenomena under observation and relate various other individual, group, class, and societal elements to the propagandas being analyzed.

## JAPANESE ATTITUDES AND PROBLEMS OF PEACE

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THE MEASUREMENT of public opinion in Japan is complicated by the fact that the Japanese are just as divided among themselves as are other peoples. Rural interests clash with those in urban areas. Laborers struggle against those who seek to exploit them. The nobility jealously guard their hereditary privileges. The families of great wealth with their monopolistic control of commerce and industry have spared no effort to protect their vested interests. The militarists and the bureaucrats that surround the Throne are conscious of their power and are not loath to exercise it. Intermingled with all these social, economic, and political groups are reactionaries and radicals, conservatives and liberals, with their sharply divergent views which cut across traditional class lines and produce many storms on the domestic scene.

Nevertheless, beneath the surface of these divisions, there is a basic similarity of thought and sentiment, a hard, indestructible core of national tradition, that binds the people together and enables them to present an united front to the outside world. For

this reason, sound generalizations concerning basic attitudes of the Japanese are possible when careful attention is given to their cultural and historical background and to the changes that are made inevitable by the impact of modern ideas. Without losing sight of the existence of dissenting minorities, we can with considerable confidence indicate the prevailing attitudes of the Japanese people toward such fundamental issues as the divinity of their Emperor, democratic forms of government, reliance upon military aggression, and the provision in their military code that death must be accepted in preference to surrender if their nation faces defeat in battle. Upon the extent and strength of these attitudes will largely depend the length of the war, the nature of the peace settlement, and the patterns the Japanese will be disposed to follow when they undertake to build anew the foundations of their fallen empire.

### POLITICO-RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

A distinctive feature of the Japanese cultural heritage is the close and purposeful

interrelations of religious traditions and political structure. In a very real sense the national solidarity of Japan is rooted in ancient myths and mediaeval religious beliefs that seem entirely out of place in the modern world. The deification of the Emperor, the divine lineage of the Japanese race, and their heavenly-ordained mission to make the whole world one brotherhood are the basic religious doctrines out of which have developed their theocratic state, their intense loyalty to Emperor and nation, their belief in their racial superiority, and their determination to extend their dominions beyond the seas.<sup>1</sup>

About the reality of these beliefs there can be no doubt for they have been frequently expressed in both popular literature and official documents. In regard to the extent of their acceptance, no accurate measurement is possible since discussion of their validity has not been permitted in recent years either in public speech or in printed form. Foreign opinion of the extent and strength of these politico-religious attitudes vary widely from one extreme to another with a tendency to emphasize the widespread dominance of old traditions among the common people. That these doctrines have become deeply imbedded in the nation seems evident from the fact that for more than a generation they have constituted the core of what is euphemistically called the spiritual training of Japanese youth. Implanted through education, sanctioned by religion, and enforced by government, this so-called Emperor-cult with all its implications and ramifications has molded the structure of the state and has become an integral part of their social and political organization.

Nevertheless, for years prior to the present war, it was apparent that the impact of science on the Japanese way of life was initiating profound changes. Their traditions handed down from primitive and feudal days were becoming increasingly outmoded. The technological progress of the nation was

building a new world in which their politico-religious beliefs became more and more incongruous and absurd. The intellectual and political leaders of Japan, who were well aware of this growing conflict between science and tradition, found themselves caught in a difficult and dangerous situation. If the only issue had been the Shinto religion, it could readily have been permitted to suffer the inevitable fate of all outgrown myths and superstitions. But since there were involved both the basic structure of the state and the foundations upon which the solidarity of the nation was built, there seemed to be no other recourse than to enforce the old attitudes and beliefs.

Long before the outbreak of World War II, the disadvantages of this peculiar union of church and state had become clearly apparent. The mental reservations with which the more enlightened and emancipated Japanese gave lip service to the Emperor-cult could not be entirely concealed and were slowly but surely undermining the authority of the Imperial government. During the 1930's it required drastic efforts of the police to control "dangerous thoughts," the most dangerous of which was questioning the validity of the Emperor-cult. Japanese statesmen dared not make concessions to the liberal movement for this would have imperiled both their autocratic government and the vested interests of the privileged classes. They were aware of the fact that the Japanese political structure could not be modernized without destroying its religious foundations. The wide gulf that separated the reactionaries from the radicals in recent years grew out of this basic conflict between science and religion, and no steps could be taken to resolve this conflict because any discussion of it was taboo. The trends toward communism and the demands for governmental reforms constituted threats not merely to vested political interests but to the Shinto mythology on which their authority was built. Recognition of this fact strengthened the fighting spirit of the reactionary cliques and gave justification to their determined efforts to preserve the status quo. It was quite clear, however, that their position was be-

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed, scholarly discussion of the religious foundations of modern Japan see D. C. Holtom, *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism*. University of Chicago Press, 1943.



coming more precarious as the modernization of Japan became more widespread.

This spectacular struggle between the sacred and the secular, the traditionalists and the emancipated, which has been forced into the background because of the exigencies of the war, will again become an important issue in post-war Japan. When Japan is defeated and steps are taken to form a new government, one of the first problems to be faced will be the role of the old imperialistic ideology. The Japanese people were not entirely deceived by the clever artifices used by the brilliant statesmen of the Meiji era to build a strong and united nation. The means they used were well suited to an illiterate people torn by factional strife during the dark period of the Restoration. But the perpetuation of this outmoded Emperor-cult in a country where public schools have opened the doors of knowledge to all the people has been made possible only by a widespread use of propaganda, elaborate ceremonials, and a strict censorship that prevented freedom of thought and expression. In spite of all the devices used by those at the head of the state to keep intact the myth of an Emperor descended from the Sun Goddess, the Japanese people have progressed too far in their knowledge of the world to accept such doctrines blindly. During recent years the people have had no choice in the matter, for repudiation of the divinity of the Emperor has been regarded not merely as an act of sacrilege but also treason against the state. But when the militarists and reactionaries have gone down in defeat, the artificial front of the Emperor-cult will stand revealed as a man-made device to enhance the power of those in authority.<sup>2</sup>

This severe blow to the exalted prestige of the Emperor is being made more inescapable by the policy followed by the imperial government since the outbreak of the war. Contrary to the usual procedure, the military leaders have strengthened their position by emphasizing the fiction that the Emperor is personally conducting the war. New steps in

the military program are inaugurated by Imperial rescripts. Victories are ascribed to the Emperor. Government regulations calling for new sacrifices on the part of the people are set forth as expressions of the Emperor's will. There can be no doubt that Emperor Hirohito, who very probably was at first an unwilling tool of the militarists, has become too closely associated with the war to escape responsibility for its outcome. It will not be possible after Japan's defeat to throw all blame upon his advisers. He also will suffer such loss of prestige that his ruin will be complete.

While the Imperial line will very likely survive this disaster, its aura of divinity will be gone forever. The Emperor-cult with its solemn ceremonials and fantastic claims will be stripped of its power to delude the people and keep them in subjection to the ruling classes. Shinto as a state religion will be repudiated as an outworn political device and will survive only in its sectarian forms among those who look to it for satisfaction of their religious needs. These results will come about not merely because their gods have been dragged into the dust by defeat. They are also inevitable because the light of science destroys superstition whenever it is freely permitted to shine. It is the misfortune of the Japanese people that they could not free themselves from the shackles of mediaevalism until their nation is humbled by a futile and disastrous war.

#### LIBERALISM AND DEMOCRACY

The nature of the peace settlement and the political structure of post-war Japan depend also to a considerable degree upon the attitudes of the Japanese people toward a liberal, more democratic government. During the 1920's there was widespread belief in western circles that liberal leaders in Japan were making real headway in building the government along more democratic lines. Universal manhood suffrage had been attained and the lower house of the Diet gave promise of gaining a strong voice in the determination of national policies. But during the decade that followed, the pendulum swung in the opposite direction. Reaction-

<sup>2</sup> For a Chinese opinion of the Emperor-cult, see Sun Fo, "The Mikado Must Go." *Foreign Affairs*. October, 1944.

aries gained greater control and the liberal movement was overwhelmed by the imprisonment of thousands who were suspected of holding views hostile to the established government.

This official campaign of terrorism seems at first glance to point to the existence of a strongly entrenched radical group organized for the purpose of fomenting a revolution. When the facts are more closely examined, it is found that only a small militant minority favored such extreme measures. Large numbers of those accused of disloyalty were laborers striking for a higher wage, teachers who failed to teach myths as historical facts, students who possessed radical books, and members of secret societies suspected of harboring dangerous thoughts.

Much of the opposition faced by the Japanese government during recent decades represented little more than a vigorous expression of dissatisfaction with a political regime that exploits the masses and plays into the hands of the bureaucracy and other vested interests. The liberal movement may be regarded primarily as a protest against official methods and policies which were bringing hardships and disabilities to various groups. But these protests were for the most part kept within the bounds of the established economic and political order. Their purpose was not to overthrow the imperial government but to overcome its most flagrant abuses. It is significant that in their efforts to do away with oppression the Japanese people throughout their long history have never had a revolution similar to those in the West that paved the way for the rise of democracy. When their pent-up emotions could no longer be restrained, they found an outlet in mob action in which their fury was spent on destruction of property or on assaults against their oppressors. Even the communist movement in Japan gave few indications that it would follow Russian patterns. It was in actuality a proletarian movement of protest against long standing injustices, and the vast majority of those classified as communists sought no changes beyond those necessary to ensure a decent

standard of living for the mass of the common people.

We must not make the mistake, therefore, of regarding the liberal movement in Japan as an expression of widespread interest in democratic doctrines and procedures. Liberalism, from our point of view, looks toward a fuller and more effective participation of all the people in the control of local and national affairs. Such a conception of liberalism runs counter to the old traditions of the Japanese and has little in common with their long established social and political philosophy. The Japanese have been too long accustomed to a rigidly controlled, paternalistic society to put their trust in a democratic state. Their comparatively few democratic leaders have been voices crying in a wilderness darkened by tribal traditions of a divinely ordained society in which the many were dominated by the few. Moreover, their few steps toward a more popular form of government during the 1920's revealed a tendency toward extraordinary political corruption extremely disillusioning to those who felt that the people's chosen representatives would place first the welfare of the nation. As a matter of fact, the Japanese people in general seem to lack a deep sense of civic responsibility and are inclined to look to those in authority rather than to themselves in matters that call for political action. Neither their cultural heritage nor the nature of their recent political experience has prepared them for the acceptance of democratic principles.<sup>3</sup>

The basic attitudes of the Japanese during the entire modern era have been essentially aristocratic and imperialistic. Aristocracy as a principle has never been seriously questioned. Japanese society has always operated from the top downward. The democratic minority, which has had a few very capable leaders, has never been able to secure wide support. Its failure is explained only partially by the rigors of government suppression. A more important reason for its slow advance is its sharp conflict with Japanese traditions and attitudes.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Charles N. Spinks, "The Liberal Myth in Japan." *Pacific Affairs*. December, 1942.

In the post-war reconstruction of Japan, there is little likelihood, therefore, that a group of liberal leaders will take immediate steps to build a democratic nation. Even if a movement in that direction were insisted upon by an army of occupation, it would be foredoomed to failure. Such a radical change in political institutions must be made with the approval of a substantial portion of the nation, and it may require years of preparation before such approval can be secured. Defeat on the field of battle will lead to a repudiation of existing political leadership but not necessarily to a loss of faith in their form of government. The many reforms that will be demanded will be within the framework of the imperial tradition. When order is finally restored and political institutions are rebuilt, control will again be in the hands of a few leaders at the helm of a strongly centralized state.

#### WAR AND MILITARISM

In the event of a peace settlement that would not seriously weaken the economic power of the Japanese people, is there reason to believe that they will take steps, when opportunity offers, to prepare for another war? That militarism has deep roots in the Japanese nation seems well established by historical evidence. For several centuries Japan was filled with the clash of arms as clan fought against clan in their struggles for supremacy. It was during this long mediaeval period that the heroic exploits of the samurai on the field of battle and the stories of courageous and self-sacrificing loyalty of retainers to their lord became enshrined in the folklore of the nation. There can be no doubt that their heritage from feudal days exalts martial exploits. In the building of modern Japan following the Restoration, the development of a strong military machine was given a preeminent place. Their victories in war during the past fifty years have strengthened their belief in their overwhelming military prowess.

We have no reason to assume that a crushing and humiliating defeat will change them from a war-mongering to a peace-loving nation. Unconditional surrender will not dim

their memories of military heroes or destroy their pride in valor on the battlefield. Such a transformation in national ideals can take place only with the passage of time and will require a period of reeducation carried on under conditions of hope and not of despair for the future.

If the peace settlement leaves the door open for their economic rehabilitation so that they are not condemned to a long and bitter struggle against poverty, this reeducation in the ideals of peace may not be so difficult as it might at first appear. The remarkable development of Japan during the past seventy-five years has been made possible by their adaptability and willingness to try out new things. In spite of their carefully cultivated stoicism and their capacity at times for patient endurance, they are easily swayed by their emotions and adopt readily new fads and fashions and points of view. If Japan's post-war leaders, motivated either by opportunism or by deep conviction, should establish a new government that exalted peace instead of war and guaranteed freedom from exploitation by the privileged classes, the rank and file of the people would very probably rally to its support more enthusiastically than would seem consistent with their past emphasis upon military power.

#### SUICIDE AND DEATH

In the formulation of plans for post-war Japan we must not lose sight of the important role that may be played by the traditional attitudes of the Japanese toward suicide and death when disastrous defeat becomes a reality. The natural urge to live is as strong among the Japanese as it is among human beings everywhere, but under certain circumstances their resolute acceptance of death stands out as one of their most prominent traits. Deeply implanted in the traditions of the Japanese people is the idea that voluntary death is not merely a way of escape from bitter adversity, but may also be a dramatic self-sacrifice in the line of duty, a final, supreme expression of devotion to a cause that seems to be lost. Thus, an ardent patriot may commit suicide in some dramatic manner as a means of making the strongest



possible protest against government policies he believes to be ruinous to the nation. An assassin, who has murderously attacked a statesman will escape severe public condemnation for his deed if he demonstrates the purity of his motives by immediately taking his own life. The sordid aspects of an illicit love affair fade into the background when the guilty participants make atonement by sacrificing their lives.

Approval of suicide is even more completely established in the Japanese military code which makes death rather than surrender the inescapable outcome of defeat.<sup>4</sup> Even soldiers made helpless through wounds must die, if this is necessary to avoid capture by the enemy. While this prohibition against surrender is strictly enforced only among officers, the hopeless counterattacks of remnants of Japanese garrisons, on Saipan and other Pacific islands and their mass suicide with hand grenades give proof of the wide acceptance of the traditional belief in the efficacy as well as the necessity of death when a battle is hopelessly lost. Among the old traditions kept alive in military circles is the glorious future of those who lay down their lives on the battlefield for Emperor and nation. Even the humblest private soldier is deified and his spirit henceforth dwells in officially established Shinto shrines, the most famous of which is the Yasukuni shrine in Tokyo. His only alternatives when hard pressed in battle are victory or death. Like soldiers of any other nation, his desire is to live so as to reap the fruits of victory; but he does not shrink from death in battle for the spirits of those who make this supreme sacrifice are humbly worshiped by a grateful nation. To return home after the war as a released prisoner is a situation not provided for in their elaborate and detailed code of human behavior. Surrender is only for inferior peoples who lack the courage in the great moment of crisis to lay down their lives.

With this emphasis upon victory or death

<sup>4</sup>The attitude of Japanese militarists toward suicide and death is well stated in Hillis Lory's, *Japan's Military Masters*. Chapter 2, "The Religion of the Army." New York: The Viking Press, 1943.

for Japan's armed forces, it is unlikely that there will be any acceptance of terms of unconditional surrender as long as their soldiers possess the means to fight. Their fleet must be sunk, their shipyards and heavy industrial plants must be destroyed, and their reserve supply of munitions must be exhausted before they will admit defeat. And when this dark hour can no longer be postponed, their military code demands death either by a last desperate assault upon the enemy or by self-imposed destruction as a final gesture of defiance.

In view of the great emphasis by the whole military regime upon this requirement of their military code, it is almost inconceivable that any officer, from the highest to the lowest, will shrink from death in the day of defeat. This example will be followed willingly by the more fanatical among the common soldiers, and many others less thoroughly indoctrinated with military precepts may be forced by their superiors to accept the same fate. This wave of self-destruction will engulf also the Supreme War Council and the reactionary statesmen and high government officials who approved the plans for the war and cannot evade responsibility for the disaster that has come upon the nation. From the Japanese point of view their loss of face will be too great to be atoned for in any other way except by death. The recriminations of the people, their loss of prestige and authority, and their realization of the dishonor and suffering they have brought upon the Emperor will drive them to suicide as a welcome escape from an intolerable situation.

Since defeat means death to all in positions of authority both in the armed forces and in high government circles, every effort will be made in the coming months by the Japanese government to arrange for a negotiated peace. All the resources of diplomacy and propaganda will be utilized to bring about a peace settlement that will prevent too great loss of face. If such a treaty of peace is secured, the war lords and their supporters can justify this course of action to the nation on the ground that military strategy demands a temporary cessation of

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hostilities in order to gain time for the rebuilding of new strength. Their apparent defeat can be made to appear as a strategic withdrawal until a favorable moment arrives for launching a new attack upon their enemies. Under such circumstances the necessity for suicide is evaded for they are needed to defend the Emperor and nation and prepare for another war. Here is a great dilemma the United Nations face as they concentrate upon ending the War in the Far East. On the one hand, insistence upon unconditional surrender will unduly prolong the war since the prevailing attitudes of the Japanese people make such a surrender unthinkable

until their last resource is exhausted. On the other hand, a negotiated peace that would make sufficient concessions to save the face of those responsible for the war will leave Japan in a position to plan for future military aggression. Careful attention should now be given to the full implications of these two alternatives so that when the time for final decision arrives, our strength will not be impaired by divided counsels. The policy that is agreed upon as the basis for our peace settlement with Japan must not be dictated by vengeance. It must be formulated with the supreme purpose of ensuring a lasting peace in the Pacific.

## WAR AND POST-WAR CHANGES IN SOCIAL STRATIFICATIONS OF THE EURO-AMERICAN POPULATION

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THE PURPOSE of this paper is to indicate briefly, in black and white, some of the salient changes that have occurred in the social stratifications of the Western population during this war regardless of whether such changes have appeared only during the present struggle or, emerging before, have been greatly reinforced by it. Its second objective is to point out which of these changes are likely to continue in the transitory post-war period and which are bound to end with the armistice.

All in all, during the period considered the total changes in social differentiation and stratification of the Western population have already been so great that they have transformed the group and strata structure of it much more seriously than any superficial revolution could.<sup>1</sup> Omitting entirely an

examination of the changes in the social differentiation, the main shifts in the social stratifications can be summed up as follows:

1. *Inter-sex stratification.* Before this war, the factual and legal status of women was unequal to that of men. In all Western countries, with no exception whatsoever, women's political, economic and other rights and privileges were more limited than those

<sup>1</sup> The examined changes in social stratifications are but a small part of a much larger process of a transformation of almost the whole social structure and culture of the West going on before our eyes. What kind of changes we shall expect during the first decade or so after the armistice in the main institutions and compartments of culture of the Western population are concretely outlined in my paper: "The World We Shall Live In," read De-

cember 27, 1944, at the Conference on Ministerial Training to be published in a volume of its Proceedings. The "forecastings" of both papers are based, besides the analysis of the current facts, upon two of my diagnoses of the present state of Western society and culture: first, a long-range diagnosis that the Western socio-cultural world has entered the declining phase of its Sensate form which has dominated it during the last five centuries; second, a short-time diagnosis of the uniformities that fairly regularly occur during and after war and other great calamities. In a long-range diagnosis, developed with a great detail in my *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, and then reiterated in a simplified way in my *Crisis of Our Age*, the present war, revolutions, and other changes that have already come to pass were predicted, years before they occurred. Short-time uniformities of war and post-war periods were summarized in my *Man and Society in Calamity*.

of men. Some high positions and functions were legally closed for women; some occupations were either factually or legally monopolized by men. Women's remuneration for similar occupations was lower than for men. The rights of the wife in the family were less extensive than those of the husband.

The war has ushered women into many occupations, up to the armed forces, that were previously almost a monopoly of men. It has permitted them to discharge many functions that before were performed mainly by men. In many families the war has put a woman in the position of head and provider. As a result of these occupational, economic and functional changes in the position of women, their total status has become closer to that of men. The gap of the inter-sex inequality has decreased. In some countries like Soviet Russia this equalization manifested itself not only actually, but legally. In other countries it is, so far, mainly factual equalization. However, it tends to be sanctioned increasingly by law even in such countries. Even in Nazi Germany, in spite of the Nazi effort to confine the women to kitchen, children and household activities, and to reinforce the difference in the status of men and women, the war made the effort ineffectual. It is hardly probable that in the post-war transitional period the trend will be reversed.

2. *Inter-age group stratification.* Before the war the legal rights, factual privileges, and leadership opportunities of the younger age groups were more limited than those of the older age groups. In all Western countries the age groups below eighteen, twenty-one, and twenty-four (depending upon the country) were limited in their rights and legal capacity compared to the older age groups. Some high positions were legally closed even for groups below twenty-four, thirty, and thirty-five. Factually many high positions, strata and leadership were closed to young men and women. They were filled mainly by older age groups.

The war imposed mainly upon the young age groups the great task of fighting and dying for one's country. With their social

service thus immensely increased, the comparative status of youth, especially between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one respectively, had to go up. If such an age group is deemed to be fit to fight and to die, it cannot be regarded as unfit to exercise the rights and privileges of the older groups. As a result in Russia, and in a few other countries, the political and civil rights of the eighteen to twenty-one year olds have either been completely or increasingly equalized with those of the older age groups. A movement in that direction is under way in other countries. The comparative elevation of the status of the younger age groups has been proceeding in many other ways. The crucial test of the battlefield has often necessitated much more rapid promotions of competent young soldiers to responsible commands than before the war as well as frequent retirements or demotions of bungling old "brass hats." Hence the comparative youth of many generals and commanding officers in present-day armies compared to the pre-war situation. The same process has been taking place in many other groups and fields of activities. The old generalization that in the periods of reforms, revolutions and wars the leadership shifts from the old to the younger age groups is well corroborated by the contemporary upheaval period. Add to this the dearth of the young age groups in most of the "capitalist countries." The low birth rate of the last few decades has caused the age-composition of their populations to become unduly heavy with the older age groups. By virtue of the law of supply and demand, the demand for the young age groups in the war time is much greater than the supply, as it is witnessed everywhere by so-called "man-power shortage." As a result of these and similar conditions "the aristocracy" of the old age groups is on decline and the "rejuvenation" of the old age groups is decidedly on increase. At present such schemes as the Townsend Plan for securing the lion's share of the social income for the old age group have become impossible. On the other hand, many provisions benefiting the younger age groups have been carried through. This means that the younger age groups, particularly in the



eighteen to twenty-one range, have climbed up rapidly on the ladder of the age-group stratification.

I do not see any reason why this trend cannot continue in the post-war period.

3. *Inter-race stratification.* A series of displacements has occurred also on the ladder of inter-racial stratification. In part they are contradictory but the net result has been a relative demotion of the prestige and position of the "white race" in comparison with the "yellow," "black" and other "non-white" races.<sup>2</sup> Among the "white race varieties" the Nordic "master race" has notably suffered in its position and prestige. Through a most destructive fratricidal struggle the white race has lost a great deal of its moral, social and political prestige in the opinion of other races and ethnic groups. The myth of the superiority of the "white man" and of the great "white man's burden" has been blown to pieces. The war has greatly weakened the white race and has destroyed a great deal of its culture and civilization. It has forced many "white nations" to seek the help and manpower of the black, the yellow, and of other "coloured" socio-racial groups of Asia, Africa, Americas, and other parts of the world. To secure their "co-operation" the white man has been forced to grant concessions and advantages to these other socio-racial groups. As a result, countries like Russia have established complete legal and factual equality of the "socio-racial" groups. In other countries similar movements have appeared. Furthermore, the pre-war superiority of the "white man" has no chance of restoration either in the Islamic world, the Dutch East Indies, China, Japan, native Africa and America, or India. "The submerged socio-racial groups" have moved notably towards equalization with the hither-

<sup>2</sup> I am using these terms, instead of taking this or that strictly zoological classification of races because, in the processes of social differentiation and stratification, "race" as a real social group and stratum has always functioned as a "bio-social" group and stratum visible to the rank and file of the plain people, and not as a merely "zoological plural," constructed upon a set of various anthropological measurements and indexes.

to dominant "white race." Scientific and other criticism of the "Nordic master race" has greatly discredited its superiority. With the defeat of the Nazis its discrediting is bound to be greater still.

Again, there is hardly any reason to expect that this trend will be reversed in the transitional post-war period. If anything, it will be growing.

4. *Inter-family and kinship stratification,* multilinear, which often blurred the pre-war hierarchy of family and kinship groups with its "patricians," "blue-bloods," "Society," "exclusive," "honorable," "old family," on the one hand and "the poor," "riff-raff," "ne'er-do-wells," "inferiors" on the other, has also been shattered. The war and its satellites have wiped out many families, and often, especially, their important male heirs and social perpetuators. Then too, war brings a hierarchy of the values and services quite different from that of peace. Its great mobility, migrations, impoverishment of many rich and enrichment of many poor families; its huge occupational shifts in the population; by each of these and in similar ways the war has unsettled the very scale of the "higher and lower," "noble and ignoble," "aristocratic and plebeian" in families and kinship groups. By disrupting previous values it has reduced millions of "the superior" pre-war families and elevated millions of previously "inferior" families.

So far it has demoted most of the royal families—in Italy and Greece, in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, in Rumania and elsewhere. With them were demoted most of the royal and court aristocracy of the pre-war time. It has already wrought vast changes in the stratum of the pre-war "ruling class." It deflated not unappreciably the prestige and value of such pre-war criteria as belonging to "the Junior League," to "Society," and many other "exclusive" family and kinship groups. Through such factors as the collaboration with the Nazis and the consequent punishment for such collaboration after "the liberation," the war has displaced literally millions of the family-kinship groups on the scale of social inter-family stratification. At

the present time we have neither a definite scale in the hierarchy of families nor a fixed and settled place for the family groups on such a ladder. Everything is fluid and confused; from week to week the situation changes. Almost every day brings a rise and fall of thousands of these groups, especially in the localities shifting from the Nazi to the Allies or *vice versa*. To sum up: in this field of stratification we have already had a mighty earthquake that has upset and continues to unsettle the whole pre-war ladder of the inter-family and inter-kinship stratification.

This fluid and chaotic situation is going to continue in the post-war period until the Western world enters the new settled period of consolidation and lasting organization.

5. *Inter-ethnic group (nationality) stratification.* We may not like the idea, but among the many inequalities believed in and manifested by great masses of the population before the war, there was also a stratification of the ethnic or nationality groups into "superior and inferior." First, almost every ethnic group regarded itself as equal, if not superior, to every other ethnic group. From its own standpoint it distributed the others into various strata of superiority and inferiority. Second, the official law of many nations recognized several nationalities or colonial ethnic groups and legally ranked them into the strata with unequal rights and duties and disfranchisements. The hierarchies of different ethnic groups did not agree with one another, but such hierarchies existed everywhere.

The war has unsettled many of these stratifications. In all the Euro-American colonial empires most of the "submerged" and factually and legally inferior ethnic groups had to be granted many concessions, rights, and privileges not enjoyed before. Still greater have been the promises of the dominion status, of complete sovereignty, and of complete equality of rights forced upon the dominant Euro-American nationality in such empires as the French, the English, and the Russian. In Russia all such ethnic groups are already equalized, legally and factually, with the dominant Russian

nationality in the Empire. Similar promises and factual concessions have been obtained by the native ethnic groups of the Dutch Colonial empire from the Dutch government, by the Hindu from the English government, by the African colonial population from the French provisional government, by the Arabs from the British or the French, and so on.

Like displacements of the prestige of various ethnic groups have taken place in Europe and in other parts of the world. For instance, the prestige of such ethnic groups as the Swedes of Sweden, or the Swiss of Switzerland, has definitely gone down in the scale of the most of the Slavic, Greek and other ethnic groups on account of their "solidarization" and "business" with the Nazi. Still greater has been the loss of the Germans because of their wartime barbarities. Even the prestige of "the liberating" ethnic groups, be they British, Russian or American, has notably changed, and is changing with every month, even within "the liberated" ethnic groups. The stratification is now in a fluid state and changes almost daily. This fluidity will continue in the post-war period. What will be its "stabilized" forms, and which nationalities will be at the top and which will be at the bottom, no one can tell. This much, however, is certain: the pre-war ladder of the inter-nationality stratification is gone; the more or less widely recognized "superiority" of certain Euro-American ethnic groups of the pre-war period is irreparably damaged; and the general status of many submerged ethnic groups of the pre-war period is bound to be higher than it was then.

6. *Inter-state stratification.* The enormous shifts on the ladder of the states that have already occurred through the fortunes of the war are known to everyone. Many pre-war states, being conquered, ceased to exist until they were liberated. Others, like France, fell from the stratum of a great power to that of prostrated nations, and now, revived, returns to the rank of a great power. Other states like Russia, shifted to the rank of the top-powers. Still others, like Germany or Japan, first sky-

rocketed to the rank of world-power and then rapidly began to sink to the stratum of "has beens." The whole inter-state stratification became fluid with the beginning of the war; it remains fluid with the course of the war; it is bound to be fluid even after the armistice, until, in fact, the real stabilization of the whole sociocultural world of humanity is achieved. What exactly will be the stabilized inter-state stratification we cannot tell. But one can say, with a reasonable degree of certainty, that it will be essentially different from the pre-war ladder of the great and small, dominant and satellite states.

Depending upon which of the states emerges strong and victorious from the present war, hundreds of groups and strata will be displaced by a general elevation in the victorious states and by a general demotion of the defeated states. Any shift in the rank of a given state leads to an earthquake of the various stratifications within its population.

7. *Economic stratification.* Here the changes have been of four kinds: (1) The height and the profile of economic stratification has notably changed in all the Western countries. In most of the European belligerent nations the height has greatly decreased with a mass impoverishment of the wealthy classes, and the profile of the economic pyramid has assumed a very different pattern from what it was before the war. (2) The dwellers of each stratum are now different from those of pre-war times. Many rich groups are now poor and some of the former poor are now comparatively rich. (3) The value of wealth in the system of all the sociocultural values has undergone revaluation. For many, deprived of the minimum of the means of subsistence, the material or economic values are now much more precious than before; for others the value of amassed wealth has become greatly deflated as the most perishable and poisonous source of egoism, hatred, envy, and war itself. (4) Because of this the very prestige of the wealthy classes as such has notably faded in the evaluation of large masses of the population.

The mere fact of being rich has become an insufficient reason for particular respect being accorded to a group. As a result of all these displacements, the whole pyramid of economic stratification is now in a "muddled" state, with an ill-defined profile, height, and strata. It is "fluid" in the composition of its different layers, and it is marked by a trend toward a high estimation of the elementary necessities of life and a concomitant devaluation of the wealth-value in the system of other sociocultural values.

In all probability the confused and fluid state of this stratification will pass into the post-war period.

8. *Occupational stratification.* Somewhat similar are the transformations of the intra- and inter-occupational stratifications. Side by side with a veritable revolution in the size of various occupational groups, the relative rank of some occupations, beginning with that of the armed forces, has enormously gone up. On the other hand, the prestige of other occupations—practically all of those that do not contribute to the fight and victory—has gone down. This earthquake in the occupational pyramid has manifested itself not only in the form of a subjective revaluation of the social value of different occupations, but also in the objective form of an increase of the rights and privileges of the "fighting occupations" and in a prohibition, dissolution, and disfranchisement of the occupations contributing nothing to the fight and victory. This importance of an occupation for the defense and victory has now become the main criterion for "essential" and "non-essential," and useful and useless occupations. It is something very different from the pre-war criteria of the occupational stratification. These, like the ranking "skilled," "unskilled," "clerical," "small business and professions," and "big business and qualified professions" have somewhat faded in their importance. One of the manifestations of such a shift in the very criteria of occupational ranking is the high remuneration of many unskilled or semi-skilled workers in war industry compared to the incomes of many clerical, semi-profes-



sional, and small business occupations which are not directly related to the war.

In conformity with the new main criterion, the relative place of practically all occupations in the occupational ladder has changed. The contingents of dwellers of the various occupational strata is also greatly different compared with the pre-war period. Beginning with the millions in the armed forces whose present occupation is quite different from their previous ones, passing through the millions who have entered war-work in various ways, and ending with the big business and big professionals, almost the whole occupational population has been in some way shifted up and down the occupational ladder.

There is hardly any reason to believe that this revolution in the occupational stratification will end with the armistice. In a form of "an occupational reconversion" a new revolution is bound to take place in the post-war period. Contrary to all "soothsayers," this new revolution, especially in the countries that were the battlefields of the war, cannot be expected to end abruptly. A few decades will be necessary for a stabilization and crystallization of a new occupational ladder.

9. *Stratification of the social classes.* With the serious transformations of the occupational and economic stratifications, the social class hierarchy and composition of the Western population, especially in Europe, has naturally changed too. Of the four main social classes before the war—big and medium landlords, capitalists, industrial labor and farmer-peasant—the class of landlords has largely evaporated. Small remnants of it in Rumania, Poland, Hungary, the Balkans and other countries are daily abolished through a distribution of their lands among the peasants. A hardly avoidable nationalization of mines, forests and land in the city and the country will also cut off the very basis of its existence. For all practical purposes this class can be transferred from the stage of history to the museum of history for at least several decades of the post-war period. The class of capitalists has

also disappeared in part in most of the regions of the actual war; another part of it is already greatly "regimented" and has become a hybrid of a governmental bureaucrat and of a diluted and bled capitalist of the pre-war period. A third part—the managerial aristocracy of corporations—is being increasingly subjected to governmental control. With the continuation of the war and the numerous revolutions and social movements of the post-war period there will remain only a poor remnant of this class, especially in Europe. The post-war period will give us these main classes: the class of industrial labor, the class of farmers and peasants—both greatly regimented by the government—; and the new class of the enormously swelled governmental and semi-governmental managerial bureaucracy. With them will be many "middle classes." (We should note here that there has never been one middle class.) Some will be the "fellow-travellers" of the industrial labor, and others of the agricultural and bureaucratic classes. This means that the class composition and class hierarchy of the post-war period will be quite different from the pre-1939 type.

10. *Religious stratification.* Among the numerous and exceedingly complex changes in the intra- and inter-religious stratifications the following displacements can be discerned: (1) We find the workings of the "law of polarization", a manifestation which occurs uniformly in times of calamity. (See on this my *Man and Society in Calamity*, Chaps. X-XII *et passim*). The place of the institutionalized and non-institutionalized religious values and groups among all other sociocultural values and groups has gone down for that portion of the population that has become more irreligious than before the war, and has risen greatly for that group which has become much more religious with the present crisis. This polarization is likely to continue in the post-war period. (2) Of the institutionalized religious groups some, like the Russian Orthodox Church in Russia, have notably risen in their status among the conglomeration of various strati-

fications of the countries at war. Others, however, have lost prestige, as we see in the case of the Roman Catholic Church in Russia because of the anti-Soviet policy of the Vatican. Fluctuations of this kind have been numerous and will continue in the post-war period. The position of each institutionalized religious group and its hierarchy has depended, and will continue to depend, greatly upon: (a) its rôle in the nation, (b) whether the nation shall be victor or vanquished, and (c) whether the given denomination will continue to split into an ever-increasing number of sects as have most of the Protestant churches in America or keep its unity consolidated and reinforced as the Roman Catholic church in the United States. (3) The intra-religious stratification has also undergone several changes during the war in the personnel of the dignitaries and in the democratization of the appointment and election procedures of high church officials. On the other hand, especially in the totalitarian countries, thousands of churchmen of very high rank who refused to co-operate with state governments, have been demoted and imprisoned, and thousands of "collaborators" have been promoted through the pressure of the state governments. With a passage of the country from the Axis to the United Nations (or *vice versa*) these promotions and demotions have been numerous. With the changing fortunes of the war these mass promotions and demotions are likely to continue, even in the post-war period. (4) The war period has witnessed an emergence and growth of several new sects, and of non-institutionalized religious currents. They are bound to complicate the highly "fluid" situation in the post-war period.

11. *Stratifications of political parties.* Even in normal times the political parties rapidly passed from the position of the victorious and dominant to that of the defeated and minority party. In the countries with the multi-party system the domination of a party rarely exceeded in average one year. In the countries with two main party systems it was longer, fluctuating between

four and twelve years. The first World War and the revolutions following it introduced several fundamental changes. These changes have been continued by the second World War with several new variations. As a result, the political party stratification of the present time is already different from that of the pre-war, and especially the period before 1914. Generally speaking, we may note: (1) In the countries where only one dictatorial party is permitted, as the Nazi and Communist parties, such a party elevated itself to a monopolistic domination, all the others being submerged to an illegal or the underground status. (2) Of the underground parties in the countries dominated by the German or the Japanese invader, the Communist and related parties have notably increased their prestige and power by virtue of their leadership in the fight against the dominating enemy or even the dominating "liberator." (3) In the countries with two main party systems the war has split each of such parties into "conservative" and "new deal" factions and has united similar factions of the different parties. At the same time it called forth a "coalition" of the parties for the duration. (4) With the declining power of the landlord and capitalist classes, the post-war party situation will probably be marked by a decline of the parties that express the interests of these classes and by a rise of the parties that articulate the interests of the greatly expanded governmental and semi-governmental bureaucracy, of industrial labor, and of the farmer-peasant class. (5) All in all the situation is going to be fluid in the post-war period until consolidation of the new class-structure of the population is achieved.

12. *Other stratifications.* There is no space for even a brief outline of the rise and fall of various ranks, authorities, dignities, prestiges in scientific, philosophical, artistic, educational, ethical and other groups. It suffices to say that numerous and notable changes have already occurred in all these stratifications. During the war and then in the post-war period a fluid and rapidly

changing succession of ranks, authorities and prestiges has to be expected. A highly ranked authority of today (be it a person or a group) will be discarded tomorrow. The whole structure will be confused, contradictory, and unsettled.

The above sketches the salient changes in the various stratifications that existed and exist in the Western population. Now we can pass to what is probably the most important change in this field.

13. *Rise of state stratification to the dominant position.* This most significant change consists in a rise of the state-group to the dominant position among all the groups into which the Western population has been differentiated and an elevation of the state group's stratification to the dominant position among all the other stratifications. Before World War I, the multitude of the outlined stratifications was a conglomeration of overlapping social pyramids fairly independent of one another and neither dominated nor controlled by any single stratification. Most of them existed and functioned on an equal footing. There was no "aristocracy of the aristocracies" among the upper strata of the various pyramids. The "sky-line" of social stratifications was not controlled by any one "aristocracy" towering clearly over all the others. It was the sky-line of several peaks, each about as high as the other. The economic pyramid was topped by the multimillionaires, but the highest rank of the state pyramids—the monarchs and presidents with their cabinet ministers—were not made up of the multimillionaires, and *vice versa*. The top ranks of the religious groups—the Pope, the patriarchs, the cardinals, the metropolitans and bishops—were neither the multimillionaires nor were they at the top of the state hierarchy. The same is true of the top ranks of the occupational, kinship, ethnic, political, scientific, artistic and other groups and stratifications. Each of these "aristocracies" was fairly independent of the others; each was recruited within its group itself without the explicit control and command of other groups

and their aristocracies. As a result we had a most diversified conglomeration of various stratifications without any dominant one that controlled all the others, and around which they revolved as satellites. Thus the "total aristocracy" of the Western society represented a most composite mechanical conglomeration of the heterogeneous "aristocracies." It included not only the top men of the state governments, church hierarchies, captains of industry and finance, and labor leaders, but also remnants of the old nobility "blue bloods," princes, counts, dukes, as well as leaders of political parties, presidents of great universities, scientific and other educational institutions. It included heroes of the sporting world, stars of theater, eminent journalists, writers and thinkers, and even various short-lived idols of the public.

With World War I, and subsequent social emergencies topped by World War II, the state groups began to rise to the dominant position among all the other groups, as they always do in the times of emergency (see on this uniformity my *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. III, Chap. VII and *Man and Society in Calamity*, Ch. VII.) The states and their governments began to expand and tighten their controlling, regulating, and regimentative functions over ever-increasing areas of social relationships and groups until these State-Leviathans covered practically all the other groups and social relationships in their territory. In totalitarian states like the Communist and the Nazi states the domination of the state-group and of its government became complete. In others it has enormously expanded and with a continuation of "the total war" has also tended to arrive at total control and domination. Whether we like it or not, the State-Leviathan has now become the group controlling all the other groups on its territory, the axis around which all the other groups are integrated, and the real sovereign without whose sanction no group can exist and function openly.

As a consequence of this rise of the State-Leviathan to the dominant position among all the other groups, the state-stratification and its governmental aristocracy also has

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risen to the dominant stratification among all other stratifications. Neither by its moral virtue, its creative functions, nor by any other reasons but by virtue of the power and control it now has, the aristocracy of the state government has become "the aristocracy of aristocracies" that dominates the skyline of the stratifications. Without the approval or permission of the Stalin's or Hitler's "star-chambers" no other "aristocracy" of other stratifications can openly exist in Russia or Germany. The top ranks of the state governments directly or indirectly control and regiment all other stratifications, with respect to the mechanism of their functioning, and the promotion and demotion of their personnel. The Leviathans' aristocracy suppresses all the groups and stratifications it deems undesirable. It bars the promotion of persons disapproved, and supports and elevates the persons of whom it approves in political and religious, scientific and artistic, recreational and occupational, and practically all other groups in their hierarchy of ranks and strata. In all other states the situation has moved far in the same direction and will be moving more and more as long as the war and other emergencies continue. Surprisingly for many, the Western population has come in this respect to the situation of the absolutistic monarchies of Louis XIV, Frederic the Great, or Peter the Great, when all the groups and their stratifications were similarly controlled by the State-Leviathan and when without the permission and approval of its aristocracy no other aristocracy could openly exist and function. In other terms the previous democratic, somewhat chaotic and loosely-integrated conglomeration of many equal stratifications has been more and more superseded by a constellation of stratifications dominated by the state stratification, centered and integrated around it, and tangibly controlled by it.

If the post-armistice period is free from various great emergencies, the domination of the state-group over other groups is bound to decline. With it will decline also the domination of the state stratification over other

stratifications. If the emergencies are going to continue in the post-war period—and I venture to state they will—then the domination of the State-Leviathan and of its stratification will continue too. Such a situation is pregnant with tremendous consequences for the whole social structure of the Western population, for its culture, and for every individual. It means, in H. Spencer's terms, a transformation of the Western social structure from "the industrial type" to the "status type,"<sup>3</sup> from "a free" to "the regimented," from a social class society to the society of the social orders or estates fixed and controlled by the state; from a pluralistic, decentralized, fairly equal and independent conglomeration of the various pyramids of stratifications and aristocracies to a stratification centered around, and controlled by, the state-stratification. Eventually such an absolutism of the State-Leviathan will generate the forces opposed to it, aimed to curb its tyranny. In a new situation the old drama of the emergence and development of the anti-state liberalism and anti-state revolutionism of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries with its "give me liberty or give me death," with its Lockes, Voltaires, Rousseaus, and Encyclopedists, will be repeated again. But this drama goes already beyond the immediate post-war period.

14. *Conclusion.* Even this brief examination of the changes in the social stratifications of Western society shows that the trends are conspicuously different from those that are so loudly voiced by the statesmen and politicians, and by the press and public at large. When the transformation of social stratifications is put into a larger framework of the recent changes of the whole social structure and culture of the Western population—of which it is but a part and parcel—then the discrepancy between the real trends and the loudly proclaimed ones becomes striking. Just as before the present war the predominant part of the Western population lived in "a dream world," deaf and blind to

<sup>3</sup> See H. Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*. Vol. II, Part V, Chaps. XVII-XIX.

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the real world of the pending catastrophe, in a like manner it continues to move in a dream world of the post-war—"Electronics and plastics," "four-freedoms," "lasting and just peace," "Atlantic Charters," "equality, fraternity" and abundance for all. If it does not awake in time, if it does not understand that

as long as the dominant Sensate culture, society, and man continue to linger in this disintegrating phase—none of these great values can be realized. Unless we face these facts, the Western population is headed for another, still greater, disillusionment and tragedy.

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## OFFICIAL REPORTS *and* PROCEEDINGS



### 1945 MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

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### ANNOUNCEMENT FROM THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL RESEARCH

All members of the Society have by now received the 1945 Census of Research project schedule. To determine the coverage of this project of the Society, it is requested that each member sign and return a copy of the schedule whether or not he has a project to report. It is hoped that returns can be made by April 25.



## CURRENT ITEMS



## NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

**Joseph K. Folsom**, former editor of the *American Sociological Review*, now in government service outside the country writes: "In addition to military matters which cannot be discussed, I have been making many interesting contacts . . . in the field of child welfare, parent education, and population. Have met several of our members and people in related work here: Ted Hartshorne, Stuart Dodd, John Riley, Henrik Infield, David Cushman Coyle, Paul Sweezy, Fred Hoehler, Richard Heindl, and others."

Announcement of the Edward L. Bernays Award for Outstanding Achievement in Negro-White Relations to **Dr. Howard Odum** of the University of North Carolina has been made by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. The award consists of a \$1,000 United States Savings Bond, Series E, and an engrossed scroll, and is donated by Edward L. Bernays of New York. The following acted as judges in selecting Doctor Odum for this award: Dean William H. Hastie, Howard University School of Law, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, President, State Teachers College, Cheney, Pennsylvania; Virginius Dabney, Editor, *Richmond Times-Dispatch*; Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, author, Arlington, Vermont; and Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, Professor Emeritus, Columbia University.

**N. J. Demerath**, formerly Chief of Planning and Review for the Homes Use Division of the National Housing Agency in Washington, writes that he is now on leave with the military forces. An Ensign in the Amphibious Forces, he is now serving on the U.S.S. *Broadwater*, APA 139.

**Stanley P. Davies** has been named general director of the Community Service Society of New York, a non-secretarian agency serving Manhattan, the Bronx and Queens. Its budget for the fiscal year calls for a record expenditure of \$2,793,344. Mr. Davies thus becomes head of the largest private family agency in the United States, serving nearly 75,000 persons in New York City each year.

John P. Gillin, Associate Professor of Anthropology, has resumed his duties at **Duke University** as of February 1, 1945. For the past two years he has been in government service, assigned to the United States Embassy in Lima, Peru, serving part of the time as a representative of the Board of

Economic Warfare and later as representative of the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution.

**Hofstra College.** Joseph S. Roucek has been appointed Director of The Institute of Central-Eastern European Affairs, whose fundamental aims will be to gather the material on the region, sponsor special studies in this field, and promote a general program for the better understanding of that part of Europe "which still remains a *terra incognita* to the average American, although this European core has twice shaken our contemporary civilization to its foundations.

Dr. Reuben Hill, formerly Head of the Department of Sociology and Social Work at the University of South Dakota, has taken a position as Associate Professor of Sociology at **Iowa State College**. He will specialize in Sociology of the Family and has a combined teaching and research appointment in the Department of Economics and Sociology and in the Agricultural Experiment Station.

The fifth annual conference for teachers of the social sciences in high schools and junior colleges will be held at the **University of Chicago**, July 25, 26, and 27. The theme of the conference is: "The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations." Teachers, curriculum directors, and school administrators are cordially invited to attend. Copies of the program may be secured by addressing Earl S. Johnson, Box 51, 1126 East 59th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

**University of North Carolina.** Gordon W. Blackwell is directing a special two-year inquiry into improvement of teaching in the social sciences in the South and is also projecting plans for a Division of Research Interpretation in the Institute of Research in Social Science. Ernest R. Groves and Catherine Groves' text in mental hygiene, *Dynamic Mental Hygiene*, is now in the hands of the publisher. The University of North Carolina Press will bring out shortly a book for the schools, *North Carolina Today*, by S. H. Hobbs, Jr. and Marjorie Bond, which is an adaptation of Dr. Hobbs' many years of work on North Carolina social and economic problems.

Katharine Jocher is editing a special twentieth anniversary number of *Social Forces* as a unit of the University's sesquicentennial commemoration. The volume will be entitled "In Search of the Regional

Balance of America." Part One, done jointly by Howard W. Odum and Katharine Jocher, will feature six units: "From Community Studies to Regionalism"; "The Way of the South"; "The Regional Quality and Balance of America"; "The Regional Laboratory for Research and Planning"; "Two Decades of *Social Forces*"; "Towards Documentation." Part Two will feature special articles appropriate to the theme by Rupert Vance, W. F. Ogburn, Charles S. Johnson, T. Lynn Smith, Edgar Thompson, Edith Webb Williams, T. J. Woofter, C. Herman Pritchett, Elizabeth Green and Craighill Handy, Ruth Landes, and Lt. Donald Becher.

Macmillan Company will publish at an early date two volumes for Howard W. Odum. One is *Understanding Society: An Introduction to the Study and Direction of American Society*; the other is *The Way of the South: Towards the Regional Balance of America*. Henry Holt and Company will bring out a revised edition of Doctor Odum's *American Social Problems: An Introduction to the Study of the People and Their Dilemmas*. The University of North Carolina Press is bringing out shortly Rupert B. Vance's notable volume, *All These People: The Nation's Human Resources in the South*.

*The University of Puerto Rico* announces the establishment of a Social Sciences Research Center with Lewis A. Dexter as Special Advisor. The Center is to be established July 1, 1945, with an appropriation of \$360,000 for the 3-year period ending June 30, 1948. Although the selection of topics for investigation is not yet entirely definite, preference seems indicated for such topics as: (1) the socio-economic concomitance of high population density in the island, (2) the economic history of Puerto Rico, and (3) several community studies similar to Redfield's *Folk Culture of Yucatán*, Davis and Gardner's *Deep South*, or Rogler's *Comerio*. Further information concerning the Social Sciences Research Center will be forthcoming in a subsequent issue of the *Review*.

*University of Washington.* Dr. George A. Lundberg was Walker-Ames Professor of Sociology for January and February. He presented a seminar in Methodology in the Social Sciences and a series of popular lectures on World Problems and Social Science. During the second semester, Dr. Norman S. Hayner will devote full time to the Adult Education Division of the University, lecturing throughout the State on subjects pertaining to the family, crime, and delinquency. Dr. Lee M. Brooks of the University of North Carolina will take over Doctor Hayner's regular teaching program during this period. The final report of the Washington State Census Board, which was prepared by Dr. Calvin F. Schmid, has just been published. The University of Washington Press announces the publication of Doctor Schmid's monograph entitled *Social Trends in Seattle*.

*Vanderbilt University.* Dr. Wayland J. Hayes has been granted a leave of absence, January to September, to become special consultant on community organization at the University of Virginia. His place will be taken by Dr. James W. Woodard of Temple University for the winter and spring terms.

Dr. George Devereux is Lecturer in Sociology at *Wellesley College* for the second semester in the absence of Mrs. Florence Kluckhohn. Mrs. Kluckhohn is doing war work with the Office of War Information in Washington.

Fellowships for graduate work in health education are being offered to qualified applicants by the *U. S. Public Health Service*, in cooperation with the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Surgeon General Thomas Parran has announced. These fellowships for the collegiate fall term of 1945 are being awarded to meet present and future needs for trained health educators in schools, communities, and local, State and Federal health departments.

Men and women between the ages of 22 and 40 who are citizens of the United States and who hold a bachelor's degree from a recognized college or university may apply.

Fellowships will lead to a master's degree in public health. The 12 months' training period will consist of nine months in the School of Public Health at the University of North Carolina, Yale University or the University of Michigan, and three months' field experience in community health education under supervision. Applicants must meet the requirements for admission to the Schools of Public Health. Training in science, sociology, education, and psychology, plus experience working with people are desirable prerequisites.

The fellowships provide a stipend of \$100 a month for twelve months, full tuition, and travel for field experience. Candidates must pay their travel to and from the university at the beginning and end of training.

Fellowship application forms may be obtained from the Surgeon General, U. S. Public Health Service, Washington 14, D.C. Applications must be accompanied by a transcript of college credits and a small photograph, and must be in the office of the Surgeon General not later than June 1, 1945.

#### RICHARD CORBIN FULLER (1907-1944)

On October 9, 1944 the sociology department of the University of Michigan received word of the death of Associate Professor Richard Corbin Fuller in the Naval Hospital at Brooklyn, New York. He was on leave from the University, having received his navy commission as Lieutenant, Junior Grade, in May, 1943. He was taken ill while in Terre Haute, Indiana, where he was stationed as Educational Officer in connec-

tion with the V-12 navy program at the Indiana State Teachers College. He was first transferred to the Naval Hospital at Great Lakes, Illinois, and thence to the Brooklyn Naval Hospital where he died.

Professor Fuller was born in Friendship, New York, on June 11, 1907. He entered the University of Michigan in 1924, and achieved scholarly distinction in his undergraduate days. Following his graduation in 1928 he was associated with Professor Robert C. Angell in a research project on Family Law which was sponsored by Columbia University in New York City. An extensive volume was published as a result of this investigation. In 1929 Fuller returned to the University as a graduate student, and received his M.A. degree in Sociology in 1930. He then entered the Law School of the University of Michigan, but still kept his contact with the Sociology Department as a part-time instructor. He graduated with high honors from the Law School in 1934, and thereafter was admitted to the Michigan Bar. Faced with the alternatives of continuing in law or in sociology, he chose the latter field, becoming Assistant Professor of Sociology in 1937, and Associate Professor in 1941.

His main interest in sociology lay in the field of social problems, with an inclination toward the study of their legal aspects for which he was so well prepared. He was also concerned with giving the study of social problems a theoretical frame of reference, linking the concept of a "problem" with the value system of a given society. He published several articles on this subject, and at the time of his death had underway a volume which one can be sure would have made a valuable contribution to the field if he had lived to complete it. Besides the five articles relating to the foregoing topic Fuller contributed extensively to the volume *Outline of*

*the Principles of Sociology* that was edited by the late Professor Robert E. Park, and published in 1939. Mention should also be made of Fuller's interest in social legislation and in race problems, as his courses in these subjects were enthusiastically attended by students. He attracted students not solely on account of his friendly manner and inspiring presentation of material, but even more so because the better students, at least, valued his critical and analytical power in getting at the roots of a social situation. To be in his class was a liberalizing experience for those students who had already begun to observe and think for themselves.

As a faculty member the services of Fuller were becoming increasingly valued. He worked arduously on a cost-of-living study which had beneficial results for the salary scale of some of the younger teachers on the University staff.

He was active in a wider field, being increasingly called upon for conferences and public discussions of current issues. He could always be relied upon for an enlightening and liberal contribution.

He was a member of Tau Kappa Epsilon fraternity, and of such scholastic honorary societies as Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, Alpha Kappa Delta, and the Order of the Coif.

In 1928 he was married to Elsie Elizabeth Radford of Ann Arbor. They have one child, Nancy Jean Fuller, born February 18, 1933.

In his death the University, the Department of Sociology, and the sociological profession have lost a gifted and promising man. With all his other sterling qualities he had a profound capacity for friendship. His memory will be forever cherished by those who knew him and his work.

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD

*University of Michigan*

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*Children's Behavior Problems. Volume II.* By LUTON ACKERSON. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xix + 570. \$5.00.

In this second volume (the first was published in 1931), Ackerson presents additional results of an elaborate and well conceived study designed to obtain knowledge of the casual relationships between various factors which produce behavior deviations in children. The data discussed in the second volume pertain to two groups of cases selected from a group

of 5,000 children examined consecutively at the Illinois Institute of Juvenile Research during the years 1923-27. Each of the children involved in the present study had been subjected to comprehensive physical, psychological, psychiatric and social examinations, and it is from these examinations that the data for the study are derived. The two groups selected for analysis consist of 2,113 white boys and 1,181 white girls from six to eighteen years of age at the time when they first came to the attention of the Institute. All of the children in-

cluded in the analysis had an intelligence quotient above 50.

The results reported in this monograph are produced by correlation analysis of personality and conduct traits which were noted frequently enough in the case records to make a correlational manipulation of them possible. Such a treatment of the data resulted in the calculation of some 14,000 correlation coefficients which demonstrate how *iii* personality and conduct traits are related to one another.

It is extremely difficult to summarize in any satisfactory fashion the relationships found in Ackerson's monograph in the space allotted to a review. The interested reader must examine the book carefully in order to arrive at the significance of the relationship between specific traits of conduct and personality as indicated by the size of the correlation coefficient presented. Such a careful examination of the data will be well rewarded since though most of the coefficients presented are low a considerable number of them reveal intercorrelations that point to the eventual achievement of knowledge of what may be termed "first order" variables in human conduct and personality. Ackerson's study teems with clues to fundamental research in human behavior. All who are interested in a science of human behavior will be appreciative of Ackerson's exploratory work.

E. D. MONACHESE

University of Minnesota

*Social Defense Against Crime: Yearbook of the National Probation Association.* Edited by MARJORIE BELL. New York: National Probation Association, 1942. 346 pp. No price indicated.

*Delinquency and the Community in Wartime: Yearbook of the National Probation Association.* Edited by MARJORIE BELL. New York: National Probation Association, 1943. 307 pp. No price indicated.

Persons interested in crime and related problems have come to regard the Yearbooks of the National Probation Association as sources of significant and timely discussions of topics in the general field of criminology. The 1942 and 1943 Yearbooks continue to render the important service of bringing together a number of articles devoted to a discussion of topics that are of current interest.

The dislocations that accompany the war have tended to aggravate in many communities those situations which have been associated

with major behaviour deviations. As a consequence many American communities have suddenly discovered the existence of juvenile delinquency. The discovery has been accompanied by an array of proposals which range from the so-called "dry nite-clubs" to well-integrated and comprehensive plans. The war-induced anxiety over delinquency as well as the remedial proposals presented merit thorough study and an opportunity for such study is provided by the National Probation Association in its 1942 and 1943 Yearbooks.

The articles contained in the 1942 volume are oriented to the theme of social defenses against crime, and in keeping with such a motif the articles are grouped under the following sections: Crime and the Community; Delinquency in Wartime; Scope and Place of the Juvenile Court; Services for the Unadjusted Child; Administration of Adult Services. An examination of the articles found under the above named sections will serve to show that the Yearbook is not only devoted to the discussion of several significant phases of crime in relation to conditions within the community which are conducive to its manifestation, but also to a consideration of what communities have done and may do in curbing criminal behavior.

The section on crime and the community opens with an article in which the eminent Roscoe Pound traces the development of socialized criminal justice. This is followed by an article by Edward Haydon in which is described the methods utilized in the Chicago Area Project to prevent delinquency in selected Chicago neighborhoods. Haydon, who is program director of the Chicago Area Project, presents a concise and convincing summary of the merits of the plan which has as its core trait the utilization of all community resources by the community in its treatment of the problem of delinquency. Lowell J. Carr then follows with a plea for a state-wide overall plan for the prevention of delinquency. In this connection Carr outlines what is being done in Michigan by the Michigan Child Guidance Institute in bringing before the people of that state the need for a co-ordinated statewide plan to prevent and treat delinquency. In the final paper contained in this section, Walter R. Chivers discusses the environmental conditions which produce Negro delinquents.

The second section of the book contains two papers, one by Arthur E. Fink and the other by Margery Fry, on delinquency in wartime. Fink's paper is devoted to the problems of

young people who are confronted with the disorganizing influences of war production and camp areas. Fry's paper again calls attention to the increase in juvenile delinquency in war-torn England.

The Juvenile Court as an instrumentality of the community in its attack upon delinquency is considered in the third section of the book. Of special interest in this connection is an article by Judge Walter H. Beckham of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court of Miami, Florida, in which a plea is made for the creation of courts to which are referred all difficulties which center about the family. The other two papers presented in this section deal with the relations between the Juvenile Court and other social welfare agencies in the community.

The rest of the Yearbook is devoted to various aspects of the services offered by communities to both juvenile and adult deviants. Of special interest are two articles by Charles H. Z. Meyer and Richard A. Chappell. Meyer's paper discusses several phases of in-service training programs for probation officers, while Chappell addresses his attention to problems relating to the development of correctional workers on the job.

The 1943 Yearbook, as its title indicates, is a collection of articles centering upon problems of wartime delinquency and crime and the attempts made by American communities to solve them. The following titles of the sections in which the articles are gathered should serve to show the fields covered: Crime and the Community; Wartime Changes in Probation and Parole; Federal Wartime Protective Program; The War and Juvenile Delinquency; Delinquency Prevention Movements; Community Care of Delinquent Children; Juvenile and Adult Psychiatric Studies.

Of special interest to sociologists is an article in the 1943 Yearbook by Donald R. Taft in which he relates deviant behavior to tensions and conflicts within American culture. Taft suggests that our attitudes and values which tend to place competition in an exalted position produce conditions that are not only conducive to the creation of criminal behavior but also determine the effectiveness of treatment programs designed to deal with delinquents and criminals.

Of interest, too, will be the articles found in the section entitled: Delinquency Prevention Movements. Papers by Harold H. Krowech, Ira I. Brought, and Ernest W. Burgess, are devoted to an exposition of how the legal pro-

fession, education and recreation may aid in delinquency prevention. A group of articles on the psychiatric phases of delinquency also deserves attention.

The reader will also be pleased to find that both Yearbooks continue to include a digest of legislation and judicial decisions affecting juvenile courts, probation and parole. This is a service rendered by the National Probation Association that becomes increasingly valuable to those who want or who must keep abreast of developments in juvenile court, probation and parole work.

E. D. MONACHESI

*University of Minnesota*

*The Indian Problem.* By R. COUPLAND. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. 711 pp. \$5.00.

The word "monumental" is badly overworked; but it is an appropriate description of this volume. The book is a constitutional history of India from 1833 to 1943; but the author's real interest lies in the reasons for the present deadlock, and the possibility of a solution which would enable India to attain complete self government.

Professor Coupland's qualifications for tackling this almost insoluble problem are impressive. He has been Beit Professor of Colonial History at Oxford for the last twenty-five years, and has a detailed knowledge of the history of India. He has also firsthand knowledge, obtained as a member of a Royal Commission of Inquiry, and later by private investigations in 1941-42. On this occasion he was sent out by Nuffield College, Oxford, to study the Indian political situation and prepare a report on it. He was in India at the time of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission, and took part in the negotiations with the Indian political leaders. Professor Coupland has a strong vein of liberal idealism which is tempered by shrewd common sense. He believes strongly in democracy and unity for India; but he gives proper weight to the formidable obstacles to its achievement. It is clear for instance that he has little sympathy for the autocratic rule of the Indian princes. At the same time he faces the facts that they represent a great deal of power, and that many of them have the loyalty of the bulk of their subjects. So his conclusion is that they cannot be ignored, and that the problem of the native states cannot be solved by a revolutionary short cut.

The book is a very detailed and impartial appraisal of aspirations and facts. It is not



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bedside reading; but the main points stand out clearly. A helpful summary is given at the end of each section. Professor Coupland's report should be required reading for everyone who has an easy solution of the Indian problem.

The first and introductory section covers the constitutional history of India from 1833 to 1935. It traces the gradual development of representative government, and the two large instalments of responsible government that were granted in 1919 and 1935. Professor Coupland points out that the Indians had been given control of about 80 percent of their own affairs in less than twenty years. He believes that if the Indian leaders had worked with the constitution of 1935 instead of boycotting it, they would have attained complete self government within a short space of time.

The second section examines the breakdown of self government in seven provinces of British India with a population of 182,000,000, and its success in the four remaining provinces with 112,000,000 inhabitants. The detailed analysis of these chapters is particularly interesting. The author also investigates the reasons why it was never possible to set up the All-Indian Federal Government that had been provided for by the constitution of 1935. Other chapters described the growth of the secession movement among the Moslems and the Princes, the Cripps offer and Gandhi's civil disobedience movement in 1942.

The present deadlock was caused by the ambition of the predominantly Hindu Congress Party to set up single-party government controlled by Gandhi and the Working Committee, which exercised an autocratic control over the Congress Party. In 1937 Congress won the elections in seven out of the eleven provinces of British India. It refused to share power with the Moslems unless they dissolved their Moslem League and joined Congress. It reduced the seven provincial legislatures and ministries to the position of rubber stamps controlled by the Working Committee. Congress also tried to undermine the coalition Hindu-Moslem governments which had been set up in the four provinces where the Moslems had won an electoral majority in 1937. Finally Congress made it clear that it would follow the same policy of straight party government when the All-Indian Federal Government was created, and that British rule would be succeeded by Congress rule. The Moslems faced the prospect of being permanently excluded from political power. The result was that by 1940 most of

them had joined the Moslem League, with its programme of breaking up Indian unity and creating independent Moslem states in the north west and north east. Congress also tried to undermine the power of the Indian Princes, with the result that they refused to join the proposed federal government. The author's conclusion is that the Princes can and will set up a separate native states dominion, unless Congress moderates its ambition. The scheme would be feasible, although it would have serious drawbacks both for the Princes and for British India. Professor Coupland concludes that ultimately the development of democracy in British India will compel the Princes to democratise their own governments, but that at present they are too strong to be coerced.

The third section contains the author's proposals for attaining unity and self government. The attempt to reach this goal by means of the British system of parliamentary democracy with its principle of majority rule has completely failed. Congress must concede to the Moslems and other minorities the special safeguards on which they insist, such as the proviso that no bill affecting them may be passed without their assent. All Ministries must contain a fixed proportion of minority representatives, so that coalitions after the Swiss model will replace straight party governments. The provinces and native states should be combined into four federated Regions, two of which would be dominated by the Moslems and two by the Hindus. The central all-India government would have the bare minimum of powers, and would be composed of an equal number of delegates from each Region. The plan deserves very careful study; but its chance of adoption depends primarily upon the willingness of the Congress Party to sacrifice its ambitions in order to preserve Indian unity. The alternative seems to be partition which would not stop with the Moslems and the Princes.

LENNOX A. MILLS

*University of Minnesota*

*Case Studies in the Psychopathology of Crime.*

(Volume II, Cases 6-9) By DR. BEN KARP-  
MAN, M.D. Washington: Medical Sciences  
Press, 1944. Pp. viii + 738. \$16.00.

In 1933 Dr. Karpman published the first of a projected series of volumes of case histories of psychopathic criminals as these histories were unfolded in the criminal ward of St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D.C. This was followed in 1935 by a separate volume

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of theoretical interpretations entitled *The Individual Criminal*. The book under review is Volume II of the *Case Studies* and it is announced that there will be shortly a companion volume two of *The Individual Criminal* which will contain the author's theoretical explanations and interpretations of the cases here presented. Further, the intention is announced of publishing yet a third volume of case histories and presumably a similar third volume of interpretative analysis. "The first volume contained histories of individuals charged, in the main, with predatory crimes, whereas the present volume deals with cases directly involving sexual crimes. . . . it is intended that Volume III be confined exclusively to murder cases." (preface, p. vii)

One object of a series of elaborate case histories should be presumably to illustrate something of the differences in techniques of analysis involved in different kinds of cases. The cases presented in this volume differ greatly from one another, in amount of space devoted to each, in method of presentation, and in types of persons involved.

Thus the first case in the book (357 out of a total of 738 pages in the volume) includes not only a very elaborate "own story" kind of life history by the criminal, but also gives a 40 page record of his reported dreams while in St. Elizabeth's. There is likewise a 130 page section in which the criminal tells what he knows, or thinks he knows, about crime and criminals, their methods, experiences, attitudes, motivations, loyalties, and manner of life in prison and out, including the review of and reaction to four or five famous literary books dealing with crime. This mass of material is introduced by a scanty five page "official record" in which the main more or less objective and verified facts are stated in brief summary form. The official crimes charged are those of theft of mail and drug addiction though the delinquencies described in the history itself include a multitude of lawless acts. The second case, officially charged with Mann Act violation, is compressed into a mere 157 pages and of these 134 are devoted to the "own story" life history, 8 to the dreams recorded for the psychiatrists, and a 15 page "official record" of more or less verified information.

The third and fourth cases are even shorter. The third case, official charge that of rape, occupies 120 pages of which 97 are devoted to the more or less verbatim reporting of the

story elicited during 96 psychoanalytic sessions. Of this case it is said that ". . . psychotherapy was effective to the point that, though more than 17 years have passed, there has been no further indulgence or repetition of criminal behavior." (*Preface*, p. vii). The fourth case, that of a spectacular train robber, takes only 95 pages and consists for the greater part of an "own story" life history which is introduced by a more elaborate (20 pages) "official record" section of police and hospital data than is presented in any of the other cases.

The object of publishing these elaborate records is apparently to substantiate the familiar psychiatric and psychoanalytic point of view that the basic causes of crime are to be found deeply embedded in the disturbed mental and emotional life of the criminal and not in the externals of environment and circumstances. Specific application of theoretical analysis to these particular cases remains for the forthcoming second volume of *The Individual Criminal*. In the meantime, one or two points should be noted by way of critical reaction.

Criminologists accustomed to dealing factually with criminal behavior are going to find it difficult to fall in line with this seemingly uncritical acceptance of whatever story a criminal tells as *the real story* of the items of importance in any behavior sequence. Dr. Karpman has anticipated this criticism in the *Preface* to Volume I (p. ix) by insisting that if the story seems real to the criminal it is *real* as far as his behavior is concerned; if it is a "lie" that is equally meaningful since there are deep-seated psychic reasons for lies. "It is not difficult to show by critical analysis of the material where it fits and where it does not fit into the case."

In the cases in Volume II, as in the earlier volume, the reader is given very little of the factual picture that might enable him to form an independent judgment of "where it fits and where it does not fit into the case." If the story told satisfies the credulity of the particular psychiatrist, it apparently "fits" and is to be accepted as the really meaningful account of any particular behavior episode. Anyone who has worked intimately with criminals and become acquainted with their loquacious and often romantic or dramatic accounts of their own behavior must be a bit nonplussed by the smug and complacent acceptance by the psychiatrist of the role of All-

knowing Being, who can determine without further objective investigation whether the particular story told fits into the case.

In a similar manner, the factually minded will be distressed by the obvious selection of elements and items that have been reported in these cases. Thus in the reporting of the psycho-analytic sessions (p. 521-612), only those associations and incidents are recorded that seemed to the psychoanalyst to have significance. The criteria of significance apparently being that the items reported deal in some way with sex experience, either alleged to have been real or simply reported as dreams or phantasies. It is difficult to escape the impression that the underlying theory and point of view of the psychiatrist has determined the recorded life history incidents, rather than that the incidents and facts revealed have called forth the theory or point of view as the most useful for explanation and analysis.

This new volume of case histories adds to the materials picturing criminal careers as total life experiences. As such, it performs a useful function that may simplify somewhat the problem of teaching and understanding a particular point of view in criminology. Its contribution to scientific methodology, or to the further amplification or verification of a theory of criminal behavior is exceedingly slight, if there is any at all. It is still necessary to accept by faith the psychoanalytic point of view before these cases mean anything other than a vast waste of good paper. If one accepts the point of view, the cases appear as data and substantiating factual material, but there is nothing in all these thousands of words that throws any further light on whether to accept or to reject the psychoanalytical point of view as a result of rational scientific analysis. The major premises are still items of faith, not the products of verified information. This is its greatest source of weakness before the more critical scientific disciplines—it is also its greatest source of emotional appeal and conviction in the cult of the initiated.

GEORGE B. VOLD

University of Minnesota

*Prejudice. Japanese-Americans: Symbol of Racial Intolerance.* By CAREY MCWILLIAMS. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944. 337 pp. \$3.00.

This is the first book devoted to Americans of Japanese ancestry since our entrance into the war. It has both the advantages and handi-

caps of being written in the midst of a fluid and dramatic situation. As in his earlier works (*Factories in the Field, Ill Fares the Land, and Brothers Under the Skin*) Mr. McWilliams demonstrates his knack for being concerned with social issues at their crucial stages. He also writes about them in a way to arouse the concern of serious-minded, not only academic, elements of the reading public.

An introductory survey of about one hundred pages sketches the social history of Japanese-Americans and gives some general background information. The burden of the book is, of course, the tale of the evacuation and relocation in its many aspects. Finally Mr. McWilliams assays the relationship between this tragic incident and the broader problems of race relations in America on the one hand and in reference to our international position on the other. He reaffirms his stand taken in *Brothers Under the Skin* proposing federal responsibility for the implementation of racial democracy.

To my mind the outstanding part of the work is a recital of the forces, agencies, and persons who set the stage for the evacuation. The marshalling of evidence is done in detail, with vigor and a suitable amount of malice. The evacuation is depicted as the achievement of nativist pressure groups and press who fortuitously found their opening at a time when the commanding general of the area was one who shared their views. General DeWitt's justification for his action was a sociological argument. "The continued presence of a large, unassimilated, tightly knit racial group, bound to an enemy nation by strong ties of race, culture, custom, and religion," said General DeWitt, "constituted a menace. . . ." Mr. McWilliams points out: ". . . West Coast sociologists who had studied the problem for years did not draw the same conclusion as the General and, needless to say, they were not consulted by him" (p. 115.)

I have some minor objections. There are avoidable weaknesses in this book largely because of the author's determination to do all possible things in the space of three hundred pages. There has been a spate of articles on the subject and in the process of including many references the shadow of scissors and pastepot intrudes. I was unable to discover any plan or utility to the arrangement of footnotes. The statement (p. 76) that Japanese comprised 42 percent of California's agricultural labor in 1909 is surely an overestimate.

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The statement (p. 83) that in 1940 "most" California Japanese were in Los Angeles County is an error; the figure is about 25 percent. The statement that Karl Yoneda was "severely beaten at Manzanar" is not confirmed by my information. The section on the Jews of the Orient (pp. 322-325) is a badly strained figure of speech. Discussion on the theory of acculturation might profitably have been omitted.

But these are picayune comments and are not meant to obscure the fact that Mr. McWilliams has done a difficult task in a creditable fashion. More than that he has done it in time to be of use in building an enlightened and liberal opinion.

LEONARD BLOOM

*University of California*

*The Task of Law.* By ROSCOE POUND. Lancaster, Pa.: Franklin and Marshall College, 1944. 94 pp. \$1.50.

Notwithstanding his erudite attempt, Dr. Pound fails to measure up to the grandiose title of this essay, a reprint of three lectures delivered at Franklin and Marshall College in the spring of 1941, dedicated to the memory of his old friend William Uhler Hensel, "a notable lawyer, editor, historian, and man of letters." It lacks the penetration of his *Spirit of the Common Law* (1921), and the concreteness of his analyses so brilliantly displayed in *Criminal Justice in America* (1930).

In answer to his own first question, "Why Law?" he advances a socio-psychological explanation and posits two fundamental tendencies, first, "the aggressive or self-assertive instinct," the other, "the social instinct." Security, he says, is a balance which must be maintained between "the cooperative and the egocentric instincts." It is therefore the task of law, as the "ultimate effective agency of the social control in a developing society," to maintain this balance.

After considering the various historical answers that have been given to the second question which he poses, "What is law?" Dean Pound reveals his own psychological bent and his preference for the functional point of view. He thus defines law as "experience organized and developed by reason, authoritatively promulgated by the law-making or law-declaring organs of a politically organized society and backed by the force of that society."

His treatment of the third question, "What may be done through law?" is disappointing, to the sociologist, at least. He sets out to

examine and appraise what he calls our "armory of legal weapons," (prevention, punishment, substitutional redress, et al), in terms of their fitness for present-day needs, but concludes, reluctantly, that there are embarrassing limitations on the effectiveness of current legal remedies, and that it is important "to note these limitations upon effective social control through law."

To determine the role of law in a changing world is, of course, an inherently difficult task. Yet if Pound, with his rich scientific and philosophical background fails, as he does, to illuminate the matter, then whom shall we turn to for light and leadership? (One secretly wishes that Bernard Shaw, even in his 89th year, might have taken a turn at it!)

Like most of Pound's other essays this is a scholarly treatise in the philosophy of law. It should be very useful to advanced students and to law professors. It would, however, be a deadly deterrent to a modern youth contemplating a career in law.

ARTHUR L. BEELEY

*University of Utah*

*Hitler's Words.* Edited by GORDON W. PRANGE. Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1944. Pp. xi to 400. Cloth \$3.75; Paper \$3.25.

This volume is a valuable addition to the materials available for an understanding of the personality and the techniques of *der Fuehrer* in the periods of his rise to power and his preparation of Germany for a war of Conquest. It consists of excerpts from his utterances over a twenty-year period, from 1922 to 1943. They are taken chiefly from the files of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*, although several other German newspapers were used, together with some material from publications of the National Socialist party and speeches recorded since the beginning of the war by the Federal Communications Commission and the British Broadcasting Corporation. The material is divided into twenty sections, each dealing with one phase of the Nazi ideology and technique. Each section is preceded by a brief interpretative comment by the editor.

Two important contributions are made by the publication of these excerpts. They provide in comparatively brief form a complete statement of the ideology, the aims and spirit of National Socialism. And in addition they furnish for the student of propaganda the techniques of the most finished and effective propa-

gandist of our times. These utterances document the frequently made assertion that the National Socialism of Germany had no consistent, underlying philosophy. We find here the evidences of opportunism, inconsistencies, frustration, lust for power, blind hate, Machiavellian politics, that together spelled Nazism. If one reads one utterance after another without noting the dates on which they were made, he is overwhelmed by the contradictions. Glorification of war and love of peace, lust for conquest and warmest protestations of neighborly co-operation, assertion that might makes right and protestations of self-denying restraint, follow rapidly on one another. But when the dates and general European situation at the time of utterance are taken account of, it becomes apparent that the words were merely means of accomplishing a specific purpose in a particular situation.

Hitler's propaganda technique deserves careful study. His appeals to the different sections of the German population, show a clear understanding of the aspirations and aversions of each group. And his techniques for uniting the nation around a few central hopes and fears were obviously highly successful.

A comment by the editor before the section on Culture Politics raises a point on which later historians may be able to throw some light. The comment is that the composition and the pseudo-subtleties of the material in this chapter leads one to suspect that the words are not Hitler's. This raises the question as to whether Hitler may not have had a ghost writer or writers of others of his speeches and writings. How a person of his training and limited achievements up to the time of his political career could have exhibited the cleverness, political sagacity and subtleties of thought that appear in his utterances is a question that has occurred to many people. If a comprehensive history of the Nazi movement is ever written, this is one of the matters on which some information is much to be desired.

CECIL C. NORTH

Ohio State University

*Prevention of Prostitution.* By the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Social Questions. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944. 182 pp. \$1.20.

This study was planned in 1938, finished in 1939, and the conclusions were drawn in 1940. As is true of so many reports in the field of prostitution, the present one is very light in

scholarly and research weight. The theme of the report emphasizes the need for adequate protective facilities for young women.

One of the special contributors to the report is Dr. Tage Kemp of Copenhagen who contends that, if adequate measures to cope with the problem are in effect, the endogenous factors (constitutional and psychological) will be the determining causes of prostitution.

The International Labour Office presents a program of protective measures for young women workers, including the abolition of fee-charging employment agencies, protection at places of work, protection during leisure time, and residence institutions for working girls.

The Advisory Committee itself proposes a list of safeguards against the imminent hazards of induction into prostitution. But these safeguards are the old, standard variety whose effectiveness is dubious. They include measures against *souteneurs*, warnings against moral dangers, upping of the age of consent, use of police women, railway station missions, protection of unmarried mothers, prohibition of use of minors in brothels.

In discussing the reductions of the demand for prostitution, Dr. J. A. Cavillon of the French Ministry of Health advocates the suppression of agencies which increase sex desire, the strengthening of resistance in men, and the promotion of normal sex life.

The part of the report which shows real grasp is a section of the introduction dealing with the major developments in prostitution since the beginning of the century. Some of the high lights are: prostitution displays recalcitrance to control; the campaign against venereal disease has tended to free the prostitute from inscription; equality of the sexes reduces prostitution; exploitation of the prostitute has declined; professional prostitution has decreased; the prostitute is no longer visible by dress and appearance.

WALTER C. RECKLESS

Ohio State University

*Proceedings of the Conference on Latin America in Social and Economic Transition.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1943. Pp. v + 104. \$1.00.

In this publication six conferees present data, most of which were gathered from scattered secondary sources, on Latin America. Professor Richard F. Behrendt of the National University of Panama presents a paper on land tenure problems and their solutions and

a more general paper on economic stability. He emphasizes the importance of the control of agricultural land by the few rich, the Mexican reforms, and the general colonial nature of most of the national economies of Latin America. He touches on cultural and psychological characteristics of Latin America, which he says may fade out by citing such quotations as "In Latin America Mañana is the busiest day of the week," "There dreaming is the superlative of doing," and "The machines do not understand Spanish." As the impediments to economic progress Behrendt lists the following: (a) scarcity of population; (b) inadequate purchasing power of the masses; (c) the inadequate raw material basis of most countries; (d) shortage of skilled workers and specialists, and (e) inadequate capital basis.

Professor Donald Brand, Head of the Department of Anthropology of New Mexico University, contributes a useful paper on the Indians, their numbers and characteristics; and a paper on the strategic war materials of Latin America. Appraising the various estimates and definitions of Indian population in the Americas, he concludes that in the western hemisphere there are about 21,000,000 people who are Indians (20,500,000 who live in Latin America), and 63,000,000 who are mestizos (60,000,000 in Latin America) out of a total of 284,000,000 of all races (137,000,000 in Latin America).

Dr. Michel Pijoan, nutritionist and physician, formerly of the Indian Service of the United States Department of Interior and now making nutrition studies in Latin America for the Inter-American Indian Institute and the U. S. Navy, briefly describes some nutrition deficiencies drawing primarily upon his South-western studies. Dr. George Sanchez, formerly of the Universities of Texas and New Mexico, contributes a very brief discussion of Mexico; Erna Fergusson of the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs contributes an article on Chile; and Stuart Cuthbertson of Stanford University attempts to show how the various nations of the Americas may find a common basis for intellectual life through the interest in and study of one another's art and literature.

Several of these papers bring together useful information but make no new contribution to the knowledge about Latin America. There seems to be no central theme or interest in the publication and some of the participants who have done excellent work on Latin Amer-

ica, as proven by their writings elsewhere, have contributed statements of mere superficial generalizations for this publication.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS

Michigan State College

*Women and Men.* By AMRAM SCHEINFELD. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944. 453 pp. \$3.50.

A clue to this book can be found in the fact that it was written as an answer to the extreme environmentalist position on sex differences. The author *assumes* the case for culture and addresses himself to its weaknesses.

Indeed the author says so himself in the Preface: "The most significant fact about this book . . . is that it isn't what it started out to be." He had originally planned to deal with social factors influencing sex differences. But as his research proceeded, he realized that the current emphasis upon conditioning was questionable and that first there must be a book dealing with the "fundamental differences" between the sexes.

This reviewer, for one, wishes that the author had kept to his original purpose if he saw no way of combining the two approaches. This book is intended for the general public. Is it not likely that for every one of his readers who suffers from an overdose of environmentalism, there will be many who attribute all psychological sex differences to Mother Nature and who will thus receive the antidote without ever having been exposed to the concept of culture?

Be this as it may, the task which the author did set himself he, on the whole, fulfilled admirably. He assembled a large body of facts concerning sex differences from widely scattered sources. Masses of data were handled critically and the book is remarkably lucid in structure and style. More than a popularization of the existing knowledge, it contains analyses and observations of the author, many of which are incisive and valid.

The author faced bravely and fairly the tantalizing issue of "nature vs. nurture." His position is always carefully considered even if admittedly not always conclusive. It is only when he begins to derive implications from his facts for broad social policy that he is on questionable ground.

The book begins with the prenatal development of the sexes and traces their differences in the rate of growth, anatomy and physiology through infancy, puberty and adulthood. Here



the author presents biological facts as clearly and vividly as he did in his earlier book, *You and Heredity*. Chapters entitled "First Steps," "Brain Sprouts," and "Budding Personalities" set forth various studies of sex differences in activity, intellect, and personality. There are chapters on sex ratios, sickness, crime and achievement differentials.

Of the facts new to a sociologist, most will be in the field of organic processes, details of bodily construction, glandular activity, biological resistance, and rates of maturation. On the psychological side, the author is inclined to accept the following differences as hereditary: girls more sedentary, less aggressive, more color conscious, have less drive, a finer motor co-ordination in hand movements, begin to talk earlier and walk later. The author shows that it is only by disregarding the differentiating items that the average I.Q.'s were made alike. He doesn't commit himself as to the causes of the differences.

A serious shortcoming of the chapters on mental differences is in the frequent omission of figures on overlapping. The author maintains that the concept of overlapping does not apply because every woman must be different from every man in many respects. Of course, the sexes can never be identical. But this statement still leaves wide open the real question: What is the implication of the differences for some specific social policy? The author is extravagant with such phrases as "unique talents" of women, the violence done the woman's nature through "imitation of man," etc. Now suppose the overlapping in some of the cited mental traits (drive, or arithmetical ability, or aggression, or what not) is really great. In such a case forcing all women into the "feminine" pattern with regard to these traits would do violence to the nature of more women than would the policy of "imitating men."

The last part of the book treats of the social roles of women in the past and in the future. The author attempts to show that the social roles of women were the logical derivatives of their biological differences. He goes on to say: "Of all the fallacies that have led to the difficulties and confusion of the modern woman this is among the biggest: the belief that the path to equality with men lies in the direction of sameness" (page 377). He wants women to strive for the fullest expression of their own special capacities which are different from but not inferior to those of men.

The conclusions which the author draws from

his facts raise a number of questions. The list of occupations "suitable" for women, for example, reflects not merely biological or "bio-social" facts but also the present state of public opinion. There could be no objection to this had the author not implied that the list was derived solely from the foregoing scrutiny of the woman's "nature." Furthermore, the author ignores the serious (and no doubt in part remediable) frustrations of the "wife and mother" role, difficulties which exist today quite apart from the low esteem accorded this role in feminist circles.

But the disquieting aspect of the last chapters lies not so much in the *concrete* recommendations of the author. In fact, many a feminist drawing up a twenty year plan of reform would settle for his list of changes with only a few reservations. The danger lies elsewhere. His eloquent pleas to women to be "true to their own nature," his warnings couched in very general terms against "imitating" men, the whole anti-feminist pathos of his writing may in the immediate future be used not against the adversary to whom the author had in fact addressed these chapters—some extreme feminist who considers the sexes *identical* and expects a feminist utopia overnight. The danger is that these slogans will be used to retard some sorely needed adjustments in the pattern of women's lives, among them some of the very changes which the author himself advocates.

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY

Barnard College

*Murder, Riot and Statistical Studies.* By LOWELL S. SELLING, Detroit: The Psychopathic Clinic of the Recorder's Court, 1944. 76 pp. \$2.00.

The primary data presented in this monograph are the results of three investigations conducted by the Psychopathic Clinic of the Recorder's Court of the city of Detroit. The inquiries concerning the sex, color, age, occupation, marital status, education, and alcoholism of 242 convicted slayers reveal little that has not been previously reported by others, although the investigator expresses surprise over the fact that Negroes who made up only 7.6 percent of the population of Detroit in 1930 constituted 53.7 percent of the convicted slayers who were studied during the period 1931-1938. The most unexpected (or astonishing) result of this investigation is the report that of 239 convicted slayers, 79 were psychopathic, 113 were mentally defective or inferior, 36 had various

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mental disorders, 11 were unclassified, and only 1 was "not psychotic, defective or psychopathic."

Similarly, only 5 of the 100 persons convicted of taking part in the Detroit race riots of June 20-21, 1943, were found to be free from mental abnormality or inferiority. Of the 40 persons convicted of automobile speeding, none were found to be normal unless the 8 reported as "egocentric" are assumed to be normal rather than to be the egocentric type of psychopathic personality.

The investigator's point of view can be observed in the following quotation concerning factors to be considered in studying traffic deaths: "The average mental level of various cities must differ. This has never been studied, and the writer knows of no figures to show the situation, but it would seem that in the deep South where 'poor whites' and illiterate Negroes, as well as inbred mountaineers make up large segments of the population in certain communities, the ability to dodge automobiles would be modified." (p. 74) (Poor Southerners—perhaps they also need vitamins!)

This monograph is to be commended for presenting a pioneer clinical study of a group of race rioters, although even here the results are possibly vitiated by the clinician's zealous pursuit of mental defect and disorder. According to him, almost all murderers, race rioters, and automobile speedsters are abnormal and fall into approximately the same categories of mental defect and psychopathic and psychotic personalities.

H. C. BREARLEY

Peabody College

*Psychiatry and the War, A Survey of the Significance of Psychiatry and its Relation to Disturbances in Human Behavior to Help Provide for the Present War Effort and for Post War Needs.* Edited by FRANK J. SLADEN. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas, 1943. Pp. 505 + xxiv. \$5.00.

This book is published under the auspices of the McGregor Fund of Detroit. It is a carefully edited record of a conference held at Ann Arbor in 1942. The first four sections of the book are devoted to the philosophy of psychiatry, research in psychiatry, psychiatry in the training, experience and education of the individual, and psychiatry and the war. This is followed by two symposia devoted to the philosophy of psychiatry and psychiatry and the war.

Some very great names are included among the participants in this conference. There were, *inter alia*, Adolf Meyer, C. Macfie Campbell, Franz Alexander, Nolan D. C. Lewis, Arnold Gesell, William Healy, John W. Appel, Lawrence Kolb, Harry Stack Sullivan, and George S. Stevenson. There were many others equally distinguished, if less well known to sociologists.

It would be impossible for men of such great ability to confer without saying many things of importance. Furthermore, the value of their contributions has been enhanced by the sharp and careful editing of which the book gives evidence. There are many things of interest to sociologists in the volume, such as the essay on the scope and meaning of psychiatry by Adolf Meyer, and the paper on the relationship of psychiatry to sociology and criminology by William Healy. A careful reading of the papers leaves one with the feeling that the standards of literacy—and of originality—among top-flight psychiatrists are exceedingly high.

Nevertheless, the reviewer, who is certainly not antipathetic to psychiatry, does not very strongly recommend this work to his sociological colleagues. It is at best a symposium, in which integration is difficult and every paper must start more or less from scratch. The book is not really very informative concerning the relationship of psychiatry and war. The psychiatrists have more to tell us than they tell in this book, excellent as the book is in many respects. The monographic works of the various contributors do in fact tell infinitely more. In addition, the story of psychiatry's contributions to the war since 1942 has been ably told in other volumes.

WILLARD WALLER

Columbia University

*An Experiment in Modifying Attitudes Toward the Negro.* By F. TREDWELL SMITH. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, 1943. Pp. x + 135. \$1.85.

The objective of this study was "to reduce social distance toward the Negro through organized intellectual and social contacts with representative Negroes and their community" (p. 25), and to measure the results.

Five tests of attitudes toward the Negro were given to 399 Teachers College students. From these were developed an experimental group and a control group (paired primarily on the basis of initial test scores) of 46 each. The experimental group then took part in a "seminar"

extending over two successive week-ends, involving friendly face-to-face interaction with Negro intellectuals and professional workers. About ten days later the attitude tests were repeated. Six weeks later 26 members of the experimental group participated in an interracial tea at Columbia University. Two months after the re-test the experimental subjects were interviewed to get additional data. Sometime during the same spring "practically all [seminar] members who had not already heard Paul Robeson took advantage of an opportunity secured to go as a group to his final spring concert and to talk with him backstage" (p. 45). Ten months or more after the first re-test a second re-test was conducted by mail.

The data yielded by the foregoing procedures were analyzed and found to show that substantial and persistent increases of attitude favorable to the Negro resulted from the experimental situations. The organization of materials follows the conventional dissertation pattern.

The research reported in this book was evidently first presented in a 1933 doctoral dissertation. Since it was summarized in Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb's *Experimental Social Psychology* (1937) this publication yields mainly amplification in detail. Additional scientific detail in this field is well worth having, but it is unfortunate that publication was so long delayed. Too much water has gone over the race-relations dam meanwhile. What ten years ago might have seemed a slightly daring experimental treatment now seems strikingly tame in comparison with the everyday reality in a thousand civilian and military situations.

Apart from this, probably the major criticism is that a serious disparity appears between Dr. Smith's stated objective and what he actually did. His experimental situation was supposed to yield "contacts with *representative* Negroes and their community." [Italics the writers.] Elsewhere the co-operating Negroes are characterized as "middle-class . . . individuals and social groups" (p. 45). But in his sales talk to the prospective experimental group members the investigator is more honest: there he features the uniquely attractive aspects of the experimental "seminar." The Negro individuals and groups involved are far from representative. If persons like George Schuyler, Ira De A. Reid, and Dr. Schomberg are "middle-class" there is no Negro elite. Says one of the impressed students: "For the first time I was conscious of Negro superiority, all-round superiority of certain in-

dividuals, in which it was impossible to find any ways in which they weren't superior." (pp. 91-92).

EDGAR A. SCHULER

*Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare*

*The Geography of the Peace.* By NICHOLAS JOHN SPYKMAN; Edited by HELEN R. NICHOLL. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944. Pp. xii + 66. \$2.75.

The text of this posthumous work of the late Professor of International Relations at Yale is divided into five brief chapters; 51 illustrative maps are attached. Chapter I (Geography in War and Peace) contains a stimulating exposition of principles. Chapter II (The Mapping of the World) explains briefly and lucidly the problems of map-making and the types of map-projections to cartographically untrained readers. The remaining chapters (The Position of the Western Hemisphere, The Political Map of Eurasia, The Strategy of Security) are a plea for realism and interventionism versus utopianism and isolationism in American foreign policy.

Professor Spykman bases his realism on geographic considerations. He is skeptical toward the "Geography for the Air-Age" school of thought and asserts convincingly that the Arctic Ocean is not likely to become the Mediterranean Sea of the post-war period. America, in particular, will still gravitate toward the Atlantic Ocean while the opening of the Panama Canal has chiefly resulted in the extension of Atlantic commerce into Pacific waters. An America-centered map reveals that, once the United States permits a hostile power, or a coalition of hostile powers, to control both Europe and the Chinese mainland, the Western Hemisphere will be effectively encircled. In terms of usable energy, its enemies would be equal to Pan-American resources; in terms of territory, they would be two and a half times larger; in terms of population, they would be ten times larger. The U.S.A., we are told, needs therefore Atlantic and Pacific bases for her security and, to make these bases effective, she needs Old World allies.

Accordingly, Spykman corrects Mackinder's heartland thesis, inasmuch as he maintains that it is the rimlands rather than the heartland of the Eurasian continent which threaten domination of the globe by unified totalitarian power. He concludes that it will be "to the interest of



the United States to continue to collaborate with any powers seeking to prevent the consolidation of the rimland regions," that is to say, he is confident that world peace can be securely anchored in the common interest of the two Anglo-Saxon sea-powers and the Russian land-power. However, he reveals the weak link in his chain of reasoning in a hedged-in little sentence in which he admits that his forecast will hold true only as long as the Soviet Union will "not herself seek to establish a hegemony over the European rimland." Are we led to believe that, in such a case, a balanced European federation, guaranteed by Anglo-Saxon sea-power, would be preferable?

To the social scientist at large, Chapter I will seem most challenging. It contains a soberly styled statement of the paramount importance of the territorial factor in political action while it stresses, at the same time, the dynamic rather than the static character of a geopolitical, as distinguished from a purely geographical, analysis. This tends to make Spykman's geopolitics an essentially social science, freed from deterministic rigidity, and "indispensable to the process of reaching intelligent decisions on certain aspects of foreign policy."

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

Fisk University

*Revivalism in America; its Origin, Growth, and Decline.* By WILLIAM WARREN SWEET. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944. 182 pp. \$2.00

In this brief volume Dr. Sweet brings to his readers a clear and objective appraisal of American religious revivals. While religious revivals are not peculiar to American soil, or even to the Christian religion, the American brand did possess characteristics not found elsewhere. They were an adaptation peculiar to American social life. The author will probably surprise many of his readers by disclosing the fact that our early American ancestors were not all the religious, God-fearing men and women that we have pictured them. The majority of them came from "the lower stratum of European society, and comparatively few represented the best in education and culture."

Except for the Pilgrims and the Puritans who came to America for the express purpose of worshiping God according to the dictates of their own hearts, most of the pioneers left behind all religious and institutional ties. Religion was a "matter of the few." The crude, uncouth environment and the hardships of frontier life

soon had a demoralizing effect which threatened all social life—the soil was ripe for revivalism.

"The outstanding individual revivalists have been Calvinists; exactly contrary to what might have been expected." In the hands of Colonial preachers, however, Calvinism with its dogmatic legalism became a "personalized theology meeting personal needs and searching out the hearts of individuals."

In a well organized society "the individual is more or less automatically merged with the group" and responds to group pressures. But Colonial America was not well organized. It was a nation in the making, a nation "on the move," and there was no group, or institutional life, to which religion might appeal. Any appeal, to be effective, had to be a personal one directed to the individual person. To personalize religion is to emotionalize it and most of the early revivals were characterized by emotional excesses which in some instances did much harm and left permanent schisms among some church groups. However, regardless of its exaggerated emotionalism, revivalism succeeded in raising the moral standards of many a community as well as making valuable contributions to the educational and social life of the nation, and scattering the seeds of democracy.

Since revivalism is the result of the personal appeal to a people with inadequate institutional controls and outlets, it tends to disappear when the impersonal dominates the personal and when society develops institutional controls for individual and social life. So, at the close of the 19th century with the frontier days of America a thing of the past, the social, cultural and religious institutions began to "settle down." As institutional life developed revivalism declined, education and cool-headed leadership exercised a restraining influence over emotionalism.

Revivalism has not completely disappeared. Those in need of this kind of religious expression find it among the so-called "Holy Rollers," at which "respectable" churches are wont to sneer, forgetting that the leaders of every denomination now existing at one time broke away from some church and were looked upon as trouble makers.

With revivalism disappearing the preaching of social and economic justice, better race relations, international justice, and world peace overshadowed the older personal themes in the American pulpit. It would be unfortunate, however, if religion were to lose its personal and individual emphasis while concerning itself about the sins of society. Many years ago

Jonathan Edwards said, "True religion is a powerful thing . . . a ferment, a vigorous engagedness of the heart.' And so it is."

While this book is written from the historical viewpoint it contains much that is of interest to the sociologist as well as to the historian. It is very readable, free from technical theological language, and the layman interested in an intimate, forthright account of personalities, denominations and schools connected with the beginnings and growth of organized church life on this continent will find it profitable reading.

R. R. MARTIN

Hamline University

*A Functional Approach to Family Case Work.*

Edited by JESSIE TAFT. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. 208 pp. \$2.50.

*A Functional Approach to Family Case Work* marks the fourth volume in a series in which processes of social case work have been analyzed by the Faculty of the Pennsylvania School of Social Work. Now unfortunately out of print, the preceding volumes on *The Relation of Function to Process in Social Case Work*, *Method and Skill in Public Assistance and Social Case Work with Children*, represented an important advance in understanding the processes of the case worker by the development of the concept of the conditioning factor of the structure and function of the agency upon the case worker's services. The present volume further adds to the knowledge of case work by illustrating and applying the previously developed concepts to the specific setting of the family case work agency.

The book is a collection of seven papers emanating from the seminars and round tables of the 1943 Institute conducted by the Pennsylvania School. The writers, who were participants in the Institute, are social workers of experience and are qualified to interpret their points of view with some degree of authority.

The introduction by Jessie Taft reviewing the genesis of the study of family case work, is a frank account of differences of concepts between those of the Pennsylvania School of Social Work and the Philadelphia Family Society. More important, however, is the history of the development of the theory of the functional approach. In answering criticisms made against it, Miss Taft supports vigorously its claim as the beginning of a scientific methodology in social case work.

Her failure to cite her sources of criticism

regretably weakens her defense. She charges that some family agencies are so closely allied with psychoanalytic psychiatry that their workers are "therapists" rather than "case workers." Because Miss Taft has an original conception of *therapy* as something distinct from *treatment*, her explanation is quoted in full:

"Although case work and therapy are alike in that both are methods of helping based on an effective relation between a professional helper and a person seeking help, they differ essentially in the degree to which the world of reality is continuously represented. . . . The psychoanalyst and his patient tend to retire to a world of two in which even the psychiatrist as second person seems largely to exist for the sake of the patient, except for the realistic restrictions of fee, time and place. In social work, on the contrary, the client, however, understanding the consideration he receives from an individual practitioner, remains always in a three-dimensional world represented by the conditions and limitations of the agency service and by the agency's responsibility, not only to the single client, but to the family and the community in which his problem is expressed."

The trends of the past ten years and the status and the problems of the family agency today are discussed by Elizabeth Dexter, who as secretary of the Family Service Department of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities, has background for her observations. Her sound formulation of six basic principles of practice for the family agency of today and the future are as follows: "(1) The family agency cannot seek survival for survival's sake; (2) As any other agency, the family agency exists to meet a currently recognized and defined social need and is under an obligation to its supporting public to use its services for the intended purposes; (3) It cannot exist to supplement defects in the skills and facilities of other agencies; (4) The family agency is under an obligation to define its services so that the staff, those who are in need of its services, and the general public may all know what it is the agency does and does not do; (5) The family agency must continuously test its case work method or the method itself may lose validity and purpose; (6) The agency has an obligation to make known what needs it is not meeting, so that the supporting public can, if it so wishes take measures to provide the necessary additional services. . . ."

One of the most stimulating and provocative discussions is that of Grace Marcus' on "The Relation of Case Work Help to Personality

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Change." Her thesis is that the case worker works with the conscious ego or self as the psychological entity of the client. It is when the conscious self loses or impairs his ability to meet his own essential needs or direct his conduct that his psychological organization or ego is threatened and he may need case work service.

Two case records illustrating the case work process are well analyzed by Virginia Robinson. Her discussion is an explicit exposition of the concepts discussed by the other contributors and a reaffirmation of the functional theory. Because one with a different approach to case work could use the case histories for illustrations of conflicting theories, the illustrations represent applications of a theory rather than proof.

Space will not permit more than recognition of Mrs. Rosa Wessels excellent presentation and discussion of two case histories illustrating problems of function; Mrs. Marnel's appraisal of work with refugees, with comments by Helen Wallerstien; the use of fee as a case work process by Frances Levenson; and Robert Gomberg's paper on the specific nature of family case work.

The Pennsylvania School of Social Work has again made a significant contribution to social work literature in its clarification of the scope, function and processes of family case work. The expository character of the presentation and the details with which the material is given, afford an opportunity for the reader to find points with which he may differ as well as the many in which he is in agreement.

ANNE F. FENLASON

*University of Minnesota*

*World Penal Systems.* By NEGLEY K. TEETERS.  
Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1944. Pp. x + 220. \$2.00.

In *World Penal Systems* Professor Teeters of Temple University has collected a wide range of exceedingly interesting and valuable information. This material is organized and arranged in eleven descriptive chapters, and one final chapter of analysis and application entitled, "Lessons for the United States from a World View of Penology."

The descriptive chapters treat of Britain; the British Empire; Latin Europe; Holland and Scandinavia; Germany, Austria and Switzerland; Russia; Eastern Europe; the Balkans and the Near East; the Far East; the Latin American Countries, and the United States.

That this broad survey of the world penal systems is barely an introduction to the field is evidenced by the fact that the longest chapter of thirty-five pages is devoted to "The Philosophy and Administration of Prisons in Latin Europe," which includes the systems of Belgium, France, Italy, Spain and Portugal. The shortest chapter in the book is that on "Prisons in the Balkans and the Near East." This has only eight pages, but covers the Balkan States, Greece, Turkey, Egypt and Iran.

Professor Teeters has himself recognized the sketchy and very much abbreviated nature of his work. In his foreword he says, "The author has found many difficulties in gathering adequate material for this survey. It was obvious from the outset that he could not hope to use original sources written in the diverse languages of the world. He was obliged to restrict himself, in most instances, to sources written in English. Consequently that is the main weakness of the survey. There are no doubt many gaps. . . ."

The author has, however, made a decidedly important contribution to the literature dealing with penology. *World Penal Systems* has the widest collection of materials on the subject yet assembled in a single treatise. The author has also, with unusual insight and understanding, selected for emphasis the most important facts about the penal theories and practices of the various countries. And finally, following a brief review of penal systems and methods in the United States, the author suggests some of the "Lessons for the United States from a World View of Penology."

He suggests as deserving of further consideration and study the following concepts, techniques, or practices: (1) the use of prison labor outside the penal establishment; (2) work camps; (3) wider use of leaves or furloughs; (4) abolition of flogging in children's institutions; (5) scrupulous segregation of those awaiting trial in our jails; (6) wider use of female police; (7) development of a more progressive philosophy of treatment for youth between the ages 16 and 23; (8) preventive detention; (9) restitution for crime; (10) elimination of short-term sentences; (11) development of hobbies; (12) use of community volunteers; (13) officer training; (14) biological laboratories and clinics; (15) scientific classification; (16) criminal responsibility; (17) social consequences of crime; and, (18) a miscellaneous group of problems and practices.

Each of these aspects of penal theory or practice found in the other countries is dis-



cussed in relationship to theory and practice in the United States.

Anyone will find *World Penal Systems* interesting to read, and to the student of penology this book will make a distinct contribution to his knowledge.

CHARLES N. BURROWS

*Simpson College*

*Revolutions in Russia.* By G. R. TREVIRANUS. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944. Pp. viii + 303. \$3.00.

In a book entitled *Revolutions in Russia* the reader may expect to find an historical or comparative treatment of the great revolutionary movements, beginning say, with the "Time of Trouble" (1605-13). This could help him decide whether or not the Russians are "the docile people" they are assumed to be.

The author has chosen a different way. After 10 pages of cursory remarks about Russia's history in the 19th century, the history of the Revolution of 1905 begins. It is treated on 33 pages; no insight into the social forces which opposed each other or into the causes of the victory of the Government is given. There follows the history of the intermission between the two revolutions; the larger part of the chapter is devoted to international relations presented from the standpoint of the myth of the existence of a "war party in Russia." The February Revolution and the Provisional Government are discussed in Chapter IV; once more, the social forces involved are not investigated, and the breakdown of Russian democracy is left unexplained. The events forming the October Revolution are described in the first half of Chapter V, but in the midst of the chapter a kind of breakdown takes place, and the treatment becomes topical. Individual aspects of the revolutionary transformation of Russia such as the collectivization of homesteads, the organization of finance, the growth of the Red Army, are consecutively discussed, unfortunately, without historical perspective, so that social structures and processes belonging to the different phases of the Communist Experiment appear in hopeless mixture. This type of discussion goes on up to the middle of Chapter IX where the author assumes the role of a prophet, which he continues displaying through the tenth and last chapter. Treviranus expects a peasants' revolution leading from the collective farm to cooperative farming on the basis of private landownership. As regards foreign affairs, the author endorses Geopolitics,

sees in Russia "The Heartland of the World Island" and—without proof—assumes that the Kremlin looks at the world the same way. Nevertheless, in his opinion, "the Communist bugbear will not be revived," and no International Communist Revolution is ahead. The prophecy goes over into a few "Lessons for the Western World." They are epitomized in the *desideratum* that Christianity be revived through emphasis on social justice by the free will of men *versus* social justice by collectivism.

Throughout the book, the German transliteration of Russian names is used which often makes them unrecognizable; in many cases, names are altogether distorted. Errors in detail are abundant, like these: Port-Arthur capitulated after a siege of eighteen months (in actuality, eight); Prime Minister Witte signed the treaty of Portsmouth (he became Prime Minister one month later); the last Prime Minister of Russia is called Prince Palycin, instead of Golitsin. It is asserted that the Provisional Government did not dare to touch the problem of nationalities; in actuality, it repealed all laws and regulations containing discrimination on national or religious grounds. Patriarch Tikhon is said to have refused to resign the claim of supremacy over the State; he could not have done it since the Russian Church never made such a claim. Belorussia (White Ruthenia) is said to have become "an autonomous republic of the Union" after Hitler's invasion of Poland, whereas it has been one of the constituent republics of the Union since 1923. The author insists on the statement that, in 1914, 90 per cent of the Russians lived outside towns and cities; the correct percentage is 81.6. He repeats the usual mistake when he says that in 1914, 75 per cent of the recruits of the Imperial Army were illiterate; in actuality, 67.8 per cent were literate.

The author does not pretend to have made research in primary sources and acknowledges his indebtedness to "the learning and wisdom of Russian friends and scholars" whom he does not name "to save them from being drawn into partisan feuds." The present reviewer believes that no Russian scholar could have made any of the mistakes above.

The text is followed by good "Bibliographical notes" as suggestions for further reading, but the Index is almost worthless since no one could guess where to look for the badly distorted names.

N. S. TIMASHEFF

*Fordham University*

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*Mississippi Population Trends and Their Implications.* By J. V. VAN SICKLE. Jackson: Mississippi Board of Development, 1943. 115 pp. No price stated.

This volume, completed in August 1941, is the final release of a Works Progress Administration project sponsored by the Mississippi Board of Development. It is not, however, a compilation of data on Mississippi population trends, but rather an essay in which the author sets forth a comprehensive and long range public program designed to achieve the goal of a higher living standard without excessive migration out of the state.

Three chapters follow an introduction and summary. Successively, population trends, conservation, and economic diversification are taken up. The chapter on population is the most factual, presenting the readily available record of growth, fertility, natural increase, and migration from the point of view of their implications for economic welfare. The 1940 census returns were not available when the study was made. Attention is directed chiefly to the question of what sort of intra- and extra-state migration should be encouraged. The chapter on conservation sets forth illustrations of excessive soil wastage in the state and proposes a program to deal with the problem, including public education, land inventory and classification, rural zoning, tax and tenancy reform, relief, welfare and public health programs. The final chapter, entitled diversification, is an exposition of the author's views with regard to various methods of attracting industry and capital into the state. Particular attention is given to shortcomings of the policy of offering tax-exemptions and subsidies to attract industry, and to the type of federal spending program most likely to benefit Mississippi.

The author has intentionally made his proposals comprehensive because he believes that public planning should be bold and integrated and not piecemeal. Its very scope, however, makes the study uneven and at times unconvincing. Citizens and officials of the State of Mississippi, to whom the report is really addressed, are likely to find the various proposals confusing because of the failure to outline a clear and vivid set of objectives which the proposals are designed to achieve. Furthermore, significance of a bi-racial social structure for public planning is given little consideration.

The volume was prepared before the national war program got under way, so that, at present reading, it seems dated. But the problems con-

sidered are only temporarily submerged. They will reappear after the war together with new ones. It will be useful for those concerned with these problems to have Mr. Van Sickle's provocative essay before them.

HENRY J. MEYER

*The State College of Washington  
and National War Labor Board*

*The Disappearing Daily.* By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944. Pp. vii + 285 + x. \$3.50.

This book by a life-long journalist and supporter of liberal causes is better described by the subtitle as "chapters in American newspaper evolution." It is in much of its total a series of essays about the chief newspapers and their owners in New York, Chicago, Boston, Washington and St. Louis. The selection of cities and of papers is not presented as logical or statistically meaningful, and cannot add up into a compelling argument.

It is doubtful that the author intended such an argument, for this book is frankly a rewrite of his previous volume, *Some Newspapers and Newspapermen*, published in 1923. Most of the chapters are lifted from the earlier book, polished lightly here and there, or redone in some phases in order to weave into the description certain propositions the author has adopted about President Roosevelt and World War II. Discussion of the *Kansas City Star* is dropped and Frank Knox, Marshall Field, Eugene Meyer and Frank Gannett and their papers are added. In the first chapter and when improvising a title, Villard was introducing the thesis the title implies.

Cited in support of the disappearance are the following: (a) the number of large U. S. dailies is declining due to the death of many in the last 20 years, and the great cost of creating new ones; (b) consolidation is occurring, fusing competing papers into a news monopoly in many cities; (c) control of the sources of news is exercised by press associations, particularly AP; and (d) newspapers are no longer fired by crusading zeal.

The correct zeal as Villard develops it includes fighting for freedom of the press from business and governmental influence, improvement of the lot of minorities and of labor, civil liberties, avoidance of imperialism, a Supreme Court free of Roosevelt influence, and avoidance of wars including the present one. His platforms are those of old-fashioned liberalism-pacifism; he becomes the strange

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bedfellow of the America First group on foreign affairs. He admires Robert R. McCormick more than Marshall Field, and despises Roosevelt as heartily as did the Liberty Leaguers, although not for all the same reasons. Frank Knox is roughly handled with a fine contempt.

The book deals with journalism and current political questions but does not attempt, or achieve, rounded analysis of either. A basic limitation is the implicit assumption that good newspapers and human progress are derived like charity, from the generous activities of an elite who are men "of fire and passion."

Instead of drawing the essays into some topical conclusions, the last five chapters trail off meaninglessly with stale sketches of Godkin, Pulitzer, Watterson, the Bennetts and Garrison. The significance of syndicated columnists, the developing intellectual equipment of working reporters and the reading population, and the formation of the Newspaper Guild is missed entirely from preoccupation with that declining species, the editor-publisher.

F. HOWARD FORSYTH

War Production Board

*Cities of Latin America.* By FRANCIS VIOLICH. New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1944. 241 pp. \$3.50.

*Cities of Latin America*, as Mr. Violich states in the Introduction, "is more than a book about cities. This is a book about the effect of cities on the lives of human beings and about new forces that are pointing the way toward social advance in urban environment." For this reason, the book is of particular interest to city planners and urban sociologists. It is an excellent and timely book, not only because of its clear presentation of the problems of city and regional planning in Latin America but more so because of the contribution it makes to the cause of better understanding on the part of the peoples of North and South America. Some of Mr. Violich's descriptive passages are particularly fine, such as those describing his first flight in an airplane, which he says, "tossed out of the window all my former ideas of space, time, and geography."

*Cities of Latin America* is a book of contrasts—contrasts between South American and North American ways of doing things; contrasts between physical, economic and social conditions in the different countries that make up Latin America and in different parts of the same country; contrasts between political thought and social action and technical skills. Mr. Violich

also stresses the similarities—whether they are objectives, or problems, or methods of procedure—but it is through his analysis of the contrasting patterns of urban and rural life as he found them in Latin America that he most effectively brings out the need for a comprehensive approach to city and regional development.

It is difficult, after reading this book, not to feel that Latin Americans over-estimate the progress made in the United States in civic planning and design, and that we have been guilty of underestimating the achievements of Latin American planners in this field. That we have at least as much to learn from them as they have from us is clear from the excellent analysis which Mr. Violich makes in his chapter on "Latin America and the U.S.A." Our standard of living, which we are constantly trying to improve, is an objective they would like to attain, or at least approach. Without an increased standard, no over-all attack can be made on such serious problems as housing, health and education services, and nutrition. In addition to helping the countries of Latin America to improve their basic economic structure, we can contribute technical guidance (and perhaps personnel) and can offer valuable experience in the field of planning legislation and administration. In return, there is much we can learn from Latin America. As Mr. Violich points out,

"Their adaption of social security funds for housing purposes might well be applied in the United States as a means of making full use of those funds during the postwar period and at the same time providing necessary housing. Their *plus valia* system, which makes it possible for parks and boulevards to pay for themselves through increased values of adjoining properties, might well be adapted to financing postwar rehabilitation of blighted areas in the cities of the United States. In this urban redevelopment work we might also find useful Mexico City's system of Executive Committees made up of property owners from the area to be replanned."

The literary quality of this book suffers somewhat from Mr. Violich's desire to combine as much factual material as possible concerning urban development in Latin America with his interpretation of the major social, economic and physical problems with which our neighboring countries to the south are faced. Perhaps such an interpretation could have been more effectively made if fewer examples were used, and yet it must be admitted that the inclusion of the material adds to the value of the book as a reference work.

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Some of Mr. Violich's statements are not too easily reconciled. For instance, after emphasizing the achievements of Latin American architects in the use of indigenous materials and in the freshness and boldness of their approach, instead of "following blindly the scraps of a decadent architectural tradition unrelated to twentieth century needs," he states in a later chapter that, "(while) the builders of our cities have steered away from European examples; Latin American planners have not been afraid to learn from Old World practices. Perhaps it is for this reason that their cities have a form and integrity which is lacking in many of ours." This reviewer believes that the lack of form and integrity in American cities is due not so much to an unwillingness to follow Old World practices as to the failure of the public to demand a high standard of civic development. If a fresh approach, recognizing modern technological improvements, can be attained in architecture it can certainly be attained in city building.

This review would not be complete without a word of praise for the excellent illustrations and for the useful reference material contained in the appendices, not the least important of which is the list of Latin American planning technicians.

FREDERICK J. ADAMS

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

*The Omnipotent State.* By LUDWIG VON MISES.  
New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944.  
Pp. v + 291. \$3.75.

This book in the field of political sociology by Professor Ludwig von Mises, the Austrian economist and foremost professorial opponent of socialism, sketches the rise of the total state in Germany under the Nazis and warns the democratic peoples of the world that there can be no peaceful international regime in a world of socialistic states and political world planning. *Etatism* appearing in two forms, socialism and economic interventionism, has been one of the most dangerous and disturbing trends in the recent modern world, according to von Mises. Both of these "isms," as he sees them, have as their common goal the subordination of the individual to the compulsive and coercive power of the state. Nazi Germany is the logical and climactic result of a long period of reliance upon the state for the achievement of the selfish ends of pressure groups. Aggressive nationalism, militarism, state socialism, political paternalism, protectionism, imperialism, anti-semitism, and

economic autarchism in Germany have all stemmed from *etatism*. The monstrous totalitarian government the Nazis have created and the calamity they have brought on the world and themselves are the inevitable consequences of free men turning over their economic fate to society's most coercive apparatus—the state. There can be no peace in the world following World War II if pressure groups in the several states all follow the pattern they did after World War I and insist upon using the state to gain special favors for themselves. Capitalistic democracy and socialism are absolutely incompatible and there can be no third alternative. So reasons the author.

Von Mises is not very hopeful about the future of international society. Durable peace, as he sees it, can be reached only through perfect, competitive capitalism. Pressure groups within nationalistic states are not likely to permit the free flow of goods and the mobility of labor necessary to allow capitalism to work to advantage internationally. *Etatism*, aiming at equality of income within countries, will not permit an equalization of resources between countries. National sovereignty is the last stay of vested interests and they will not consent to its renunciation. "Government control of business engenders conflicts for which no peaceful solution can be found" (p. 286).

Although appealing to the facts of history to prove his case for free competitive capitalism against *etatism*, this reviewer believes that Professor von Mises has failed to recognize the true significance of the ever present struggle of pressure groups and social classes in modern societies, in which the masses have risen above serfdom, have learned to read, and now possess radios. That these new class groups, struggling and fighting for economic advantage and social status, have made it extremely difficult for free competitive capitalism to function, all economists and sociologists must admit. But this fact of the rise to political power of the low income groups in our western society is one of the fundamental social realities of our time. Social wisdom and statesmanship prompt us to come to grips with this basic problem. Along with Professor von Mises' closely reasoned anti-socialist books, we shall also do well to read those of Harold Laski and E. H. Carr which tell us why newly emerging political groups are making so much trouble in the modern world.

FRED R. YODER

State College of Washington

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Sociology of Religion.* By JOACHIM WACH. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1944. 412 pp. \$5.00.

This contribution to the sociology of religion is written in the grand tradition of German scholarship by a man richly equipped in philosophical, linguistic, historical and sociological background. An American sociologist opening the volume might well hope to find a neglected field organized around a sound theoretical structure and to see revealed the limitations of our varied sentimental, empirical and denominational efforts. The hope is only partially realized.

Professor Wach clears the ground as might be expected by a methodological prolegomenon. His approach is both narrow and broad. For him the sociology of religion is specifically concerned with the descriptive and typological study of the reciprocal relation between religion and social organization. Yet religion is broadly defined as experience of the Holy; unilateralism is rejected; sympathetic insight is urged; and the validity of any particular religion is held open for interpretation. The reader is invited to survey with the author the religious experience of the entire human race.

In connection with this broader aspect of the approach Wach makes obeisance to Weber and typology. The reader, however, jerked from one hemisphere to the other and from century to century by forceful scholarly hands feels that the voice is that of typology but that the hands wield the comparative method of Spencer and Tylor. Are types as cultural configurations to be compared or are they to be created by discreet dissection of traits from their setting in time and place?

The somewhat narrow conception of the scope of the field does hold the encyclopaedic author down to the task of making some useful distinctions and classifications. Religion as expressed in doctrine, practice (cultus) and communion (social organization) is shown to have powerful integrative and disintegrative effects. A distinction is drawn between "natural" groups such as a kinship group and various specifically religious groups. The classification of these latter groups is valuable. There is also a penetrating analysis and classification of differentiated sub-groups with reference to religious ties. The chapter dealing with religion and the state reveals the dissociation of state and cult by an effective use of a typology that does little violence to historical religious patterns.

It is unfortunate that the line of thought was not extended to totalitarianism. A full-bodied chapter presents a useful classification and analysis of types of religious leadership.

It is the privilege of an author to define his field narrowly and to cultivate that area. Yet for many sociologists the term *sociology of religion* includes more than is granted by Wach. One thinks at once of problems concerned with the origin of religious experience, individual and social, and factors predisposing to intensification of such experience. If not sociology at least social psychology can analyze the mechanism by which the religious heritage is transmitted and the relation of religious attitudes to personality organization and disorganization. Certainly from a sociological point of view one expects a sociology of religion to analyze not only group relationships but institutional relationships. Wach leaves many questions concerning religion as an agency of social control unanswered and fails to give a dynamic picture of the role of religion in the general process of social change.

Perhaps the style of the book and its logic can best be indicated by a quotation which does not seem atypical. "In the very beginning of this study we attempted to show that inherent in all religious experience is an *imperative* urging the believer to *act*—to act according to the will of the deity or the nature of the universe as revealed to him. This is, in a broad sense of the term, the moral and social implication in all true religious experience. It creates the atmosphere and the attitude for concrete acts which necessarily will involve dealings with and reactions toward one's fellows. With the development and deepening of religious experience in history, this realization is put first, ahead of all attempts to share with others specific acts of worship, thus forming a religiously motivated fellowship and communion. The concept of a universal moral obligation resulting from the aforesaid realization takes, then, precedence over all requirements of a *Binnenethik* developed in any one particular religious fellowship or community." (p. 378) The question arises, "Does the meaning of the word religion subtly change in the analysis and thus lead to a conclusion invalid with reference to the original definition?"

The book is not suitable as a text for undergraduates. They would find it dull and pedantic. Graduate students will gasp at the prodigious scholarship displayed and under the academic trappings will find a limited but valuable con-

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tribution to the chaotic intellectual domain known as the sociology of religion.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK

University of Minnesota

*Social Psychology* (Second Edition). By KIMBALL YOUNG. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1944. Pp. x + 578. \$4.00

Since the present reviewer is also the author of a rival textbook in social psychology, theoretically he should not praise Kimball Young's second edition too much for fear of the effects on his own sales! And yet, as an advocate of objective thinking—"thinking directed by correct and logically verifiable associations . . ." (see Young's glossary, p. 562; cf. pp. 17-19 of Britt's book)—he must necessarily assume this risk. In all fairness he must say that social scientists are once more indebted to Kimball Young for a well-written book.

His first edition was excellent for the 1930 decade, and this 1944 edition is equally well suited for more recent times. Most of the materials on individual psychology have been dropped out, and in their place have appeared the social self, revolution, war, morale, and international relations—and even monkeys and apes. Although the chapters can be read as separates, the overall result is a well-rounded consideration of problems of personality, human conflict, and mass behavior. As Young has demonstrated elsewhere—especially in his *Personality and Problems of Adjustment*—he is well aware of developments in the other social sciences, especially cultural anthropology; and once more he explains the dependence of personality development on social interaction. The present volume has also been markedly affected by George Herbert Mead's analysis of the self. The treatment of the psychology of revolution and the discussion of public opinion and propaganda are unique, although the last chapter on control and power is somewhat weak. In general, the book is descriptive rather than explanatory, which is understandable, of course, in an analysis of mass behavior in a general text.

Certainly the book is a welcome addition to the literature of social psychology, and Young as one of the pioneers in this field is to be congratulated for being one of the very few authors who, in claiming to write a revised edition of a book, has honestly taken the trouble to produce a thorough-going revision.

STUART HENDERSON BRITT

Washington, D.C.

*Australia and the Pacific*. By members of the Australian Institute of International Affairs. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944. Pp. x + 203. \$2.50.

Nine of the ten papers in this volume have an author's name attached. Yet all were written during the third quarter of 1942 to reflect the views which emerged from discussions in the "Study Groups" of the Australian Institute of International Affairs. They therefore give us the first available representative picture of "characteristic Australian points of view on the immense problems of wartime changes and postwar readjustments in the Pacific."

Five of the nine writers are faculty men—historians, constitutional lawyers, economists. Their approach, like that of their non-academic colleagues, is that of men who look at Pacific problems through the spectacles of European (and in part American) liberal internationalist ideology. They consequently encounter all those dilemmas and difficulties which a liberal has to face when he tries to apply principles that might be ideal for building a new house on an open piece of land to the task of repairing and remodelling an old damaged but still inhabited apartment building in a crowded city. Confronted with such realities and remembering the lessons of 1919 the groups have developed "a certain tough matter-of-fact practical attitude." Sometimes the result looks like Australian selfishness—or would do so if we could be sure that *we* are going to be willing to throw our tariff, monetary, and immigration policies into the melting pot. Sometimes it may seem to breathe disillusionment and timidity, a search for the "solidities of co-ordinated vital interests" rather than for "remote and theoretical conceptions." But the Australians would reply that a "modicum of present disappointment" to the perfectionists "may prove in the end a lesser price than ultimate catastrophe." Some of them would even contend that their raucous representative at Versailles had a firmer grip of realities than did Woodrow Wilson.

In such a mood the authors approach their various assignments. Dean Bailey writes frankly and wisely about Australia's membership in the British Commonwealth, and suggests that closer contact with the United States is not likely to weaken political or economic connections with Britain or with the other dominions. Mr. Forsyth discusses "Stability in the Pacific," and insists that the conditions of lasting peace in that ocean must include a politically independent and economically progressive China, a Japan that



is "prosperous and non-aggressive," and a south-east Asia "removed from the field of international rivalry." Mr. Phillips almost rudely retorts that stability is a myth, has never existed and probably never will; after which he surveys trends in Australian opinions about the war and the world. His picture suggests that ordinary Australians approach international questions as they formerly approached socialism—without doctrines. Other writers examine the Australian economy in its relation to postwar conditions in the Pacific, the prospects for markets around that ocean, the commercial and exchange policies that may have to be pursued, and the problems created by acceptance of the new panacea "full employment."

The core of the book is, however, in three chapters. Two of these attempt to apply the "Atlantic Charter" to Southeast Asia and the Pacific and to the White Australian policy. In September 1942 Dr. Evatt, the very able minister for external affairs, had tried his hand briefly at translating the Atlantic document into Pacific terms, and Professor Stone carries on the task at greater length as well as in more critical manner. He finds that in some places the Charter "gives perhaps as definite an answer as can be expected from a set of broad principles. But on others the answer is ambiguous; and on still others it is entirely absent." American commentators and congressmen who since December 1944 have discovered the Charter and found it a source of vitamins for their sanctimonious self-righteousness might well read that part of this book. Professor Duncan is sure that the Charter and White Australia can be reconciled by dropping the latter label, by insisting that the policy is based on economic and social rather than racial ideals, by co-operating with Asia in greater commercial intercourse, and by admitting a small quota of Oriental immigrants.

The third important chapter is one which explores Australian commercial policy in relation to Article VII of the Mutual Aid Agreement between the United States and the United Kingdom, an agreement which was endorsed by Australia and other recipients of Lend-Lease. That article deals with the postwar settlement of Lend-Lease. At present no one in the United States is saying anything about it, but the Australians have long been wondering what its phrases mean. For it provides that in the grand liquidation nothing shall be done which will burden commerce between the two signatories; that policies to promote the expansion of pro-

duction, employment, and exchange be adopted, that discriminatory treatment in international commerce be eliminated, that tariffs be reduced along with all other trade barriers, "and in general" that steps be taken "to the attainment of all the economic objectives set forth in the joint declaration made on August 12, 1941 by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom"—in other words the Atlantic Charter.

When Australians read this agreement, they asked themselves "Does this mean the abandonment of preferences within the British Commonwealth?" When we read it we may well ask "How can a 'joint declaration' which, according to recent high authority was just a journalist's press release and was never signed, be specifically mentioned as an object for attainment in a bilateral, or even a multilateral treaty?"

HERBERT HEATON

University of Minnesota

*Argentina Económica e Industrial.* By PEDRO J. CRISTIA and others. San Martín 540, Rosario, Republic of Argentina: Molachino y Scarabino Press, 239 pp. No price indicated.

In this interesting book the authors analyze the economic-social reality of the Argentine Republic, utilizing the principal activities with which the people of the nation are occupied and demonstrating how these activities influence positively or negatively the general social structure from within.

The exposition of the facts which occur, as well as the methods for remedying the situation which are suggested in each case, are extracted from carefully selected and elaborated statistical data.

The topics which constitute the content of this work are the following: Population, Public Health, Public Instruction, Production, Petroleum, Power, Industry, Lack of Economic Equilibrium, Transportation and Communication, Foreign Trade, Books, Public Expenditures, and Income Tax.

In the study of the population, which is one of the most important factors in the future economic and social development of Argentina, it points out that from 1869 to 1895 the population increased 1,830,214 inhabitants (4.6 percent annually); between 1895 and 1914 it increased 4,417,305 (5.2 percent annually); and from 1914 to the present time some 6 million inhabitants of increase (2.5 percent annually). As to the future of the Argentine population, departing from the hypothesis that the appor-

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tionment of immigration and vegetative increase will maintain themselves constant; in 1950 it will be less than 14,000,000; in 1960 some 14,000,000; and in 1990 it would be 11,500,000. If it should receive a 10 percent apportionment of immigration in 1990, it would arrive at 20,000,000, and if that apportionment were only 1.5 percent for the year, in 1990 the total population would be some 14,000,000.

The causes for such a phenomenon are pointed out as the following: a restrictive policy of immigration, the irrational distribution of national labor, the mechanization of agriculture, and the process which takes place in urban centers which tends to a diminishing of the vegetative increase. In my opinion, I believe also that the root of the evil ought to be sought principally in the economic factor, since there exists in Argentina a very important absorption of wealth because of the East; this brings an anemic development of the interior of the country with all its consequences in the economic and social order in general.

We are fully in accord with the authors in that the mobilization of the economy of the interior, by means of the industrial decentralization, the construction of new and better coordinated ways of communication, will provoke the opening of centers of employment. These will create a national economic equilibrium, which fact will increase the occupational possibilities and a greater absorption of the wealth which the soil produces; a phenomenon which will make independent the troubled life of an economy oriented to exportation.

To give to the people enterprise which represents a high and constant return signifies: the increase of culture, the diminishing of infant mortality, an increase in the standard of living, and the creation in all men of a clear conscience for the rights and responsibilities which serve to make man a unit of the whole.

On studying the problem of public health, the authors sustain, and in my opinion with fitting discernment, "that the modern hospital is no more, and cannot be longer, the social alms given in a sanitary form, but that it is and ought to be the entity which the social body creates for the defense of that greater capital which guards the health of its population; which organizes the defense of that health preventing detriment and its temporary devalorization by every means which is possible." (p. 20)

One is warned of the necessity of increasing social assistance in this sense and in the same way of the necessity for the obtaining of a

greater number of physicians in certain areas of the country.

A better territorial distribution of the institutions destined toward these ends, creation of a sufficient number of, and the endowment of all the technical elements and the provision for the necessary financial resources, are the remedies which they advise.

Public instruction is another of the important problems which is studied in this book. Argentina spends vast sums of money on elementary, secondary, university, and special instruction; nevertheless, it is yet necessary to increase the number of schools, especially the elementary schools, by means of which there may be "an intimate relationship between the economic capacity of the inhabitants and their cultural level."

It becomes evident in the phenomenon of the school dissertation which exists as a result of an economic malaise, preventing the child from remaining in school all of the time necessary for the completion of his elementary instruction.

This social evil, with the help of the Committee on Student Aid and the Council of National Education, has been adjusted by providing food, clothing, and student supplies. This remedy has reduced a great deal the abandonment of school, but is only a temporary means of alleviating the situation. Its radical cure should be the betterment of the economic situation of the parents.

Argentina needs more technical schools for preparing specialized works and technicians in industry, commerce, etc., since the economic evolution of the country already demands men who are capable of directing it, profiting by all of the necessary scientific elements.

In general, this book is a study realized with method and depth and presents the economic-social reality of the Argentine, in concise, clear and sincere form. Its criticism is sound, and its proposed solutions contemplate the general interest in primary order.

RAÚL GARCÍA

1944-1945 Guggenheim Fellow from  
National University of Córdoba, Argentina.

*The Growth of American Thought.* By MERLE CURTI. New York: Harper and Bros., 1943. Pp. xx + 848.

*Freedom's Ferment.* By ALICE FELT TYLER. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1944. Pp. x + 608. \$5.00.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*American Freethought, 1860-1914.* By SIDNEY WARREN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. 257. \$3.25.

In an age like the present, when most of our traditions are being broken down by men and events, it is fitting that we should look backward as well as forward, lest we should be lost in the present. That is what the three books I am about to review have done and, I think, usually with rather exceptional insight. Each has made a worthwhile contribution to the understanding of American life and historic ideals.

Professor Curti has marshalled a vast array of facts and strung them together in that sort of sequence which Henry Adams said was the essence of history. Excellent as his assemblage is, his interpretation of meaning not infrequently falls short of being satisfactory to the sociologist who seeks to generalize the data of culture. The titles of his seven major divisions contain more fundamental generalizations than the rest of his book. These are: American adaptation of the European culture; growth of Americanism; patrician leadership; democratic upheaval; triumph of nationalism in social and political thought; assertion of individualism in a corporate age of applied science; optimism encounters diversion, criticism and contraction. What the author means to tell us is how we brought our cultural heritage from Europe and largely—not completely—transformed it to fit our frontier environment; how in our historic teen-age, like true frontiersmen, our ancestors grew impatient of traditional exploitation and asserted their political independence, not only of Europe, but also of the European tradition of class rule; but not entirely, because of the economic, cultural and political tactical superiority of the eastern seaboard where class control was strongest. The development of regionalism slowed down the democratic evolution and by the time a new national unity was achieved after the Civil War a new and more extended industrial individualism, fostered by a plethora of inventions, had combined with the old commercial autocracy. Thus democracy had to make another fight for survival and had almost won the battle by the time of the liberal split in 1912. The First World War caused a return of plutocratic interests to power which the Second World War threatens to continue.

These are not the author's words, but they are my generalizations from the abundant data which he presents. If I have misinterpreted him, I hope for pardon in view of the fact that he has neglected to put the matter in his own

words. With the thousands of concrete items of analysis and factual data there is not room to begin to speak, except to say that the mass of them shows great diligence and, I think, little prejudice. So far as I can tell, he covers almost every phase of thought except that of sociological investigation and its influence upon the public opinion of the age. Why this spectacular omission only he or one who knows his habits of thought could tell. Curiously enough, he is more concerned with the currents of physical and biological thought than with social thinking. Of philosophy and psychology he says something, but seems to have missed the greatest revolution in psychological analysis: the decline of biological determinism. There is no mention of the collapse of the instinct theory, although he speaks of the revolt against the revelation theory. To be sure he is more concerned with popular than with scientific thought, but he recognizes some connection between the two, especially in the older sciences. There are some errors other than those of omission—such as the confusion of Jedediah and S. F. B. Morse—but these are of secondary importance. It is a good book and if he had been able to add the Beards' power of generalization to his mastery of details it would have been better.

Mrs. Tyler's book is different. Although it covers much the same ground up to 1860, she sees to it that the facts do not get in the way of the understanding, even though she is more concrete than Curti. She is specific where he is often so general that the less experienced reader will not follow him easily. There is no difficulty in this respect in Mrs. Tyler's pages, which could be read by the average high school student. Yet her book is in no sense trivial. The average reader will lay it down with a better understanding of trends in our history than will come to him from Curti's book, because he will have to supply less in the way of interpretation to piece out the whole. Another advantage of Mrs. Tyler's book from the standpoint of the reader's comprehension is that she has treated our intellectual history from the standpoint of well-defined movements which had a primary social, religious or political significance, while Curti has dealt with intellectual movements regardless of whether they had objective social counterparts or results. And he has not always taken pains to show the connection between thought trends and social movements. Of course he does not profess to do so. But he would have gained much in lucidity and have been of greater use to the sociologist if he had done so.

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Mrs. Tyler divides her book into three main parts and eighteen chapters. She finds the two great intellectual (and emotional) interests in the young republic were democracy and evangelical religion: freedom under moral restraint. These themes are never absent from the rest of her history. In the first half of the nineteenth century cult and Utopia, expressed largely through special colonies or well-integrated associations, were the ruling passion of these people who sought to realize the major promise of American life. It was the age of the perfectionist, although a majority of the people never were enlisted in these specific endeavors. Personal perfectionism was the primary urge; social perfection was only a means to the personal. It was outside of the numerous special communities that social perfection was most ardently sought under the banner of social reform.

In this last section of her book she treats the reform movements with reference to education, penology, poverty, alcoholism, foreign subversive ideas, war and peace, feminism, and slavery. In only two of these chapters does it seem to the reviewer that she errs in interpretation (he does not like to suggest that, however unconsciously, she yields to prejudice or pressure), and that is in her treatment of the temperance crusade and the attempt of foreign pressure groups to dominate American opinion and action. The former deserves more sympathy than she gives it, and surely the efforts of totalitarianism to dominate world opinion and practice should indicate that appeasement in the form of a doctrinaire tolerance of any methods used by pressure groups to gain advantage was no more valid socially in the 1840's than in the 1940's. Elsewhere the judgments of the author in evaluating the movements she portrays and interprets is excellent and her selection of materials is equally good. While she is concerned primarily with bodying out the movements in their social setting and expression she by no means neglects the thinking that lay behind these movements and even the clashes of ideas and the motivations that produced them. Here again I am tempted to suggest that Curti's exposition would have gained much if it had not so often been hung in the heavens from which it must be viewed with a telescope.

The greatest criticism that I have to make of Mrs. Tyler's book is that it does not directly treat the struggle for political democracy. This too was a special movement—the struggle of the common man to count in the determination of public affairs and to make himself fit for

this function—and was not of less importance than the struggle of women for political and economic rights and of the slave for freedom. In fact, it is the avenue through which all other freedoms must run or end in a blind alley. Perhaps it was too big a subject to add to her book: she could hardly have been afraid of it. Perhaps the struggle for economic democracy will be treated in the second volume—there must be a second volume.

Warren's work is not quite up to the standard of the other two. It might be called a chapter on freedom from clerical intolerance omitted from the scheme of Mrs. Tyler's book. Its defect is that it deals much more with the organization of the free-thought movement—the administrative side—than with the underlying revolt of conscience and reason. Although the politics of the free-thought movement is important and interesting its ideology should have at least equal attention. The best thing about this book is its many ramifications, especially into some of the radical political and social drives of the time. In spite of its limitations on the side of sociological analysis, it is essentially well poised and informative to the social theorist.

L. L. BERNARD

Washington University

*Black Gods of the Metropolis. Negro Religious Cults of the Urban North.* By ARTHUR HUFF FAUSET. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944. Pp. x + 126. \$2.00.

This is a study of five Negro religious cults in Philadelphia: Bishop Ida Robinson's Mt. Sinai Holy Church, Bishop Grace's United House of Prayer, Prophet Cherry's Church of God (Black Jews), the Moorish Science Temple of America and Father Divine's Peace Mission Movement. Broadly, the members of these cults are poor, come from the less literate elements of the population, with certain exceptions, and for the most part they support the traditional mores on sex, dress, modesty and personal enjoyments. The composition of the cults is largely Negro, though only two are anti-white in orientation, while Father Divine's group includes white participants.

The significant features of these cults sociologically may be briefly summarized as follows: they provide intimacy and a sense of uniqueness for their members; they apparently provide stability for their participants in a disruptive urban environment; and they reflect certain difficulties experienced by Negroes to a high de-

gree, such as lack of economic opportunity, social ostracism, and the humiliations associated with a subordinate status. In a sense each of these cults represents a type of adjustment to the limitations imposed upon the Negro. For example, the Black Jews and the Moors attempt to escape racial restrictions through religious identification, Father Divine preaches brotherhood and attempts to provide security for his followers, while the other two cults offer emotional release from the restrictions and limitations imposed by the environment of their devotees.

While the author's case studies are incomplete, his study does throw some light on the nature of cults and religion among Negroes. Incidentally, in his analysis he finds little use for the alleged factor of "racial temperament" and is inclined to deny the importance of African cultural survivals. Broadly speaking, Mr. Fauset's interpretation of the cults described is in social-psychological rather than racial or formalistic terms.

WILLIAM O. BROWN

*Howard University*

*Law Enforcement in Colonial New York.* By JULIUS GOEBEL, JR. and T. RAYMOND NAUGHTON. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1944. Pp. xxxix + 867. \$5.00.

This book is one on the legal history of the criminal courts and procedure of the colonial period of the state of New York. The materials on which it is based consist of historical records which have survived, such as minutes of court proceedings, court records, and writings and communications of judges, lawyers and officials. They include also statutes, legal documents of innumerable variety such as indictments, informations, commissions and orders, etc. Through the interpretation of these materials the authors present the origin and development, during the colonial period, of the legal concepts, institutions and practices prevailing in the administration of criminal justice.

Almost half of the discussion concerns the jurisdiction of the criminal courts, that is with the question of allocation of different types of criminal litigation to the different courts. In this connection is considered the legal bases of the power conferred on the various courts, the distribution of the criminal cases among the courts in their practical operation as contrasted with the legal arrangement, the practice and methods of appeal from lower to higher courts

and finally some of the jurisdictional problems which the colonies faced.

The remainder of the book is devoted to questions of criminal procedure beginning with the commencement of prosecution and continuing, more or less chronologically, to the execution of the final judgment. The specific procedural points discussed include the proceedings preliminary to the formal charge; the making of the charge itself by indictment, presentment and information; the widely used summary procedure before justices of the peace; the legal process used to secure the attendance of the defendant, witnesses, jurors and others; and the use of bonds, recognizances and other forms of security to insure the performance of acts or the observance of judgments and orders. They include also some aspects of the trial of cases such as the preparation by counsel for the trial, the opening statements of counsel, the prevailing rules of evidence, closing arguments, the court's charge to the jury, and jury's verdict, and finally the kind of sentences imposed and their execution.

The authors' account fully bears out their contention, made in the introduction to the book, that most of the practices and methods described were English in origin. The English criminal courts administered by justices of the peace were taken as a model to an especially large degree. There were many variations from the model necessitated by peculiar American conditions or occasioned by ignorance of English law or occurring for no discoverable reason at all, but the general pattern remained impressively English. The detailed and specific description illustrates also that there was a fully developed judicial system, with settled principles of law and rules of procedure by which criminal liability was determined.

While the emphasis of the authors' discussion is centered upon legal concepts and practices, their description reflects much of the social and political conditions and problems of the times. Innumerable offenses against property, bastardy proceedings, riots, assaults, counterfeiting, disorderly houses, offenses involving slaves, dishonest weights and measures, the unhappy vagrant pushed from county to county and from state to state, these were among the source springs of the bulk of the business of the criminal courts. Summary proceedings without a jury for the trial of minor offenses committed largely by the lower classes of the social order played a major role. There was also the perennial conflict with the colonial administration which is

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constantly reflected in modifications attempted to be made by the colonists and in the kinds of cases coming before the court. Some of these cases became famous in the history of the colony.

The main contribution of the authors lies in the field of the legal history of this country, a subject still in its infancy. As such it is without a superior. From the first to the last page, there is displayed a mastery of contemporary English criminal procedure, an exhaustive study of available historical materials bearing on criminal courts and procedure of the colony of New York, and a careful and mature evaluation of the data considered. There are also frequent references to the law and practices of other colonies, particularly of Massachusetts, as a source of New York law and practices.

With such complete and satisfactory exposition of the history of the administration of criminal justice of colonial New York, the way would appear open for an examination of the post-revolutionary period of the state, in which the later administration of criminal justice would be related to that set forth so ably in the present work.

MAYNARD E. PIRSIG

*University of Minnesota Law School*

*Organized Labor and the Negro.* By HERBERT NORTHROP. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1944. Pp. xviii + 312. \$3.50.

This is an important analysis of the relation of the Negro to organized labor. Used in conjunction with Spero and Harris' classic, the *Black Worker* and Cayton and Mitchell's *Black Workers and the New Unions*, this volume constitutes a valuable library on the Negro and the labor movement. The value of the book lies in its careful presentation of cases and the author's appreciation of the labor union issue as a phase of the general problem of the Negro in American society.

After classifying the policies of labor unions with reference to Negro membership, the author describes in some detail the specific labor union practices and policies of the building trades, the railroads, the tobacco industry, as well as for workers in textiles, clothing, laundries, coal mines, steel, automobile and aircraft industries, longshore work and the shipbuilding industry, vastly expanded by the war.

On the basis of his study, Mr. Northrup reaches the following general conclusions: union racial policies are in large measure the product of their environment; the philosophy of a

union and its leadership exert a significant influence on union racial policies; in times of labor shortages union policies tend to be more equalitarian than in times of labor surpluses; national union control of policies such as admission and promotion is likely to be more beneficial to Negroes than local control; and the policies of rival unions may influence racial policies, depending upon the circumstances. These generalizations are amply supported by a mass of descriptive detail.

The outlook for the Negro in labor unions is considered relatively good by the author. He is cheered by the trend of the National Labor Relations Board's labor policy and by the possibility that the Fair Employment Practice Committee will be granted real power. Moreover, he believes that the Negro has made gains during the crisis years of the war. The writer is of course aware of the underlying opposition to the Negro's economic advance and realizes that his progress on the labor front is conditioned by the complex of social, political and economic situations which define the character of the relation between Negroes and whites in the American social order.

WILLIAM O. BROWN

*Howard University*

*The Future Population of Europe and the Soviet Union.* By FRANK W. NOTESTEIN, IRENE B. TAEUBER, DUDLEY KIRK, ANSLEY J. COALE, and LOUISE K. KISER. Geneva: League of Nations, 1944. Pp. 315. \$3.50; paper \$2.75.

The appearance of this volume is well timed. The year of its imprint, 1944, while marked by the ferocity, intensity, and global character of World War II, was also the year in which victory for the United Nations was assured and problems of the peace became increasingly apparent. It is fitting, moreover, that this volume is the product of the League of Nations (the Economic, Financial and Transit Department) for the volume contains basic data which cannot be ignored in plans for the peace.

The volume is an excellent summary of population trends in Europe including the Soviet Union and contains, in addition, projections of these trends to 1970. The conclusions drawn are familiar ones to population students, but they are quantified, well documented, and well presented. The demographic history and future of Europe is aptly summarized in the following single sentence quotation: "For two centuries Europe and Europe overseas have had dynamic, growing populations in a comparatively slowly



changing world; European populations are now approaching population stability in a rapidly expanding world." (page 69) This summary, of course, obscures important regional differences which Notestein and his collaborators make clear. The projections show that every country in Northwestern and Central Europe, if the trends assumed continue, will shortly reach a point of population stability, most of them by 1960. The projections also show that Eastern Europe, including Soviet Russia, will continue to grow rapidly relative to the West. The population projections presented in this volume relate not only to total population but also to age and sex.

The trends and projections outlined are, within the space limitations of the volume, presented in their economic and social context and their political implications are not overlooked. While it is easy enough to criticize the projections as being necessarily subject to large and unpredictable errors if they are regarded as predictions, the authors are fully cognizant of the distinction between population projections and population predictions and are to be commended for their clear explanation of the assumptions on which their projections were based (e.g., pp. 43 and 106) and the full description of the methods which were used. (Page 21 ff. and App. I.)

Students of demographic methods will be particularly interested in the "height-slope" relationships employed in making the population projections. The use of this method substitutes a more generalized procedure for the commonly

used methods of projection. In general, the mortality projections provide less basis for differences in judgment and criticism of method and assumptions than do the fertility projections. For example, it may be argued whether the rectangular hyperboles used for the fertility projections represent the best choice of curve for projection. Such a difference in judgment is, perhaps, inevitable in light of the relatively high volatility, and the inadequacy, of available fertility data.

Particularly interesting to sociologists will be the discussion of the social and economic implications of the basic demographic trends outlined, especially with respect to such subjects as the role of women, the burden of dependency, the labor force, and manpower potential. Included also is an interesting chapter on the demographic effects of war in both their short-run and long-run manifestations.

The volume is well balanced: it contains the basic facts in the field which it covers with good graphic display to bring out the high lights; it includes a discussion of the social, economic, and political implications of the population changes described; it contains valuable appendixes including full methodological notes (App. I and II), bibliography (App. III), and detailed statistical tables giving the population projections for individual countries and regions of Europe by age and sex at five year intervals from 1940 to 1970 (App. IV).

PHILIP M. HAUSER

*Bureau of the Census*

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